/199 cont./

*192 178 411 [276] war expeditions with their tangapemas, and in order to become invisible to the enemies and invulnerable to their blows, they painted themselves with the juice of the batata uxpí. Moreover, they smoked a big cigar called uxpí-mõrõ, decorated with symbolic paintings, in order to become more courageous.

Koch Grünberg still found some clubs or tangapemas in the Namakoliba maloca, upper Uaupés (Zwei Iahre, 301). They were of a dark red wood, measuring 112 centimeters in length, with the handle painted and the other end wider. The Kubêwana and related tribes used them then for the dances and occasionally also as a seat in the canoe. It may be concluded that the war club of the Omawa is proof of the eastern origin of this Karaíba tribe, because it is similar to that of the tribes of the Guianas. Actually, among these tribes the upper end of the club terminates in a sharp point, in order to run through the fallen enemy, with a coup de grâce, in the temple or in the ear.

178 714 • 535 *192 b) In battle, moreover, they formerly used a shield, called in Tukano baxtí-pá:karo; it was woven out of cipo and was very light, but efficient against arrows. Today it is rarely seen and, up to the beginning of this century (information from Pe. João Marchesi), was used as dance attire, which they wore on the left arm when they went to drink their cuia /gourd/ of kaxpí (cf. VII -- 4, e (2)).

c) Likewise only a dance implement today (as far as we could observe) is the lance, yõxsẽrí-phĩ, which essentially is only a heavy rounded stick about two meters in length and ending in a sharp point. They use it in the dabacurí dances, and the "golpe-ao-branco" /blow to the white/ is performed with it (cf. VII -- 4, e (2 and 3)).

177 178 411 *[192] 2) Bow. The only indigenous weapons of present-day use, and, even so, of very limited use on the Uaupés, are the bow and the sarabatana /blowgun/. The tribes farthest in the interior of the forests, with few or no relations with the civilized, use them more. On the other hand, contact with civilization supplied the natives with shotgun, machetes, and axes, which, unfortunately, are used in the fights and reciprocal vengeance.

/211 cont./

291 *192 178 535 531 *192

of the women, called in Nheengatú muruarí, it is similar to a small apron of about 20 centimeters in length by 10 centimeters in width. Nowadays it is only a dance ornament which the women exhibit together with the painting; or they are even without it and only painted. With the jewelry that they have obtained from the civilized, they prepare very beautiful yaxkẽ waxsó-ro. Even the original ones, woven out of tucum, were outstanding works of weaving. The one and the other, however, seem to be a "dress of attraction" rather than a "dress of decency," because they remain hanging at the waist and, due to the position and dimensions (the largest dimension is horizontally), do not cover enough (cf. VII -- 5, b).

b) Shoes.

They do not manufacture or use shoes of any kind, as is the custom of the Indians of the savannas. They are unnecessary for their long trips, which are made by canoe, and are inconvenient for the excursions in the forest, if they are not made out of a resistant material, such as leather, and well fitted. Besides, the warm climate and the continuous rains would render their use harmful to the health.

4) Alimentation.

*192 178 262

a) Mandioca.

The Indian obtains from the mandioca (Mánihot utilíssima) his principal food, preparing it in different ways, and he uses it every /212/ day of the year. There are recollections of a very remote period (centuries or millennia before the historical period, which is the sixteenth century) when they did not know mandioca, and they ate the chestnut /Port. castanha, any of several trees having edible nuts/ called boxpé (information of Dorotéia Brito).

/300 cont./

533 Some of these songs are inspired by nature: song of the "cutia /agouti/ that eats umarí /a plant/," the "defoliation of the açaí /assai/," song of the butterfly, of the bee, etc.

797 The songs or the dances often start with whistles and also
533 regularly end with a fortissimo of whistles and cries.

Pe. Antônio Giacone states (Os Tucanos /The Tucano/, p. 52) that there is a song reserved for the tuxáua, and with the very
[276] melody of the dance. While the large ritual cigar is being passed from mouth to mouth among the men seated on their stools, the
*[192] tuxáua sings as follows:
[539] "mãrĩ bũxkõrá, mãrĩ paxkõ-s'õmõã baxsesé duhí-wé:pãra, yõõ ná põrá uhú duhí, uhú duhí we:yá, mãxsã yõõ põra"; that is, "our old people, our ancestors, seated, they held ceremonies (Blowings), just as they did them anciently, you do it too, smoking, my children, smoking seated."

b) Secular songs.

533 The secular songs constitute an artistic patrimony exclusively
[562] for the women. The men do not know how to sing them, just as persons of the female sex do not know the religious songs of the
[273] men. They deserve to be called bacchic songs, because, as a rule,
• [535] the women or girls sing them when they distribute the drink, in the interval between the dances. All these songs present quite a clear meaning; they are invitations to drink or request for drinks; not infrequently also referring to episodes of the singer's life. They are recitatives, and therefore, respecting the melody, the performer will sing her verses, sometimes longer, sometimes shorter, sometimes with greater felicity, sometimes with less. There is, then, ground for personal inspiration, although obeying a traditional pattern and using common sentences and ideas. Some are more rousing, others, less; developing a /301/ simple musical theme, of few bars, but melodic and pleasant. Just as melodic and pleasant, although also of few bars, are the musical canons that they play on the "flauta-de-pã" /Panpipe/ and on the "japurutú" /see yapurutú, or long flute, below/.

/301 cont./

534 Uaupés (55) /sic: (57)/.

[177] 55 /57/. During these past years some natives who came down to the Rio Negro for work became so enamored of the guitar that they heard there at the feasts of the caboclos that the possession of one of them constituted the dreamed-of fruit of their labor. And, upon returning to their povoados, they spend long hours of the day and the night strumming monotonously on the /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ poor instrument. Perhaps for them the charm is not derived from the auditory pleasure which they experience as much as appearing, with this, more advanced or civilized than their other brothers. One also already sees some harmonica /Port. gaita/ or accordion or victrola among the alumni of the Mission.

Of the others, there are various instruments, all obviously of native origin.

/302/ a) Idiophones.

534 As rhythm instruments for the dances they have:

• 535 1st. -- Rhythm tube. In the Tukano idiom it is called ahũ-wõ̃,

* [192] plural ahũ-pawõ̃. It is a cylinder of imbauba a meter long and 10 centimeters in diameter, hollow, with the lower end touching the ground, obstructed because it corresponds to the node. The upper one is open and ends with a rectangular extension by which it is held with the right hand. Each dancer takes his instrument, and they go all together, marking the rhythm of the step with a stroke against the ground. Frequently these instruments are painted with

[531] white, with the latex from the sorva, and with designs of Greek frets in red or black color.

/302 cont./

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535
[192]
[192]
[531]

2nd. -- Rhythm stick. Sometimes the dancers carry in their right hand a simple stick, of any kind of wood, which in Tukano is called yuxkõ, also for the purpose of marking the rhythm.

3rd. -- Murucú. Murucú is the term from the Nheengatú language; in Tukano it is called yaígõ, that is, "stick of the onça /jaguar/" (Gonçalves Dias calls them "murucús-maracás" (cf. "Relatório da Província do Amazonas," Vol. I, p. 760). It consists of a stick of brazilwood (mira-piranga) with beautiful paintings and adorned with colorful feathers, some 2 meters in length and about 3 centimeters in diameter, and the upper end in the shape of a fork. Almost in the center there is an intumescence with slits and, inside, some pebbles. Once the slits are made, the spot is exposed to the fire, and, after it is heated, they enlarge the intumescence and introduce the pebbles.

The tuxáua who presides at the dances holds it with the right hand and hits it against the biceps of the same arm, producing a noise like that of a rattle, while the whole stick starts to vibrate. It is used to mark the beginning of the dances.

[192]

4th. -- Snappers. In Tukano they are called kixtyó and sound like castanets. They are small tucumã nuts, strung on a cord, which are tied to the right ankle in some dance numbers, in order for them to mark the rhythm.

5th. -- Maracá. In Tukano it is called yaxsã or yaxsã-ga; plural, yaxsã-pá. It is a rattle prepared with a calabash, in which /303/ an orifice was made in the lower part, through which were introduced some seeds or pebbles, and it is fitted with a handle of about 10 or 15 centimeters by which it is held and shaken. Some are painted with the common designs already seen. In some dance numbers all the men shake the maracá.

[755]

Besides this, it is a magic instrument, which the pajés use in their curing processes, and with which they also keep time during their therapeutic songs.

/303 cont./

534 We have already talked about the trocano /signal drum/ (VII -- 1).

b) Membranophones.

*[192] They only know one, which they use to announce the time of the caxirí, the drum, in Tukano twá-tõ, plural twáthe-pawõ. It is a small drum about 20 centimeters in diameter and 20 in height. The cylindrical part is made out of louro /laurel/ bark, and it is closed at both ends with monkey skin, without the fur and well stretched. It is played with a small wooden drumstick, twá-tõ pa:-kõ.

c) Aerophones.

In this group is included the largest number of the native instruments, their various types of flutes and whistles. Some of these instruments emit different sounds, permitting the playing of varied and pleasing musical themes. Others, instead, only one sound, which is always made to yield sound rhythmically. It is to be observed that, in general, the playing starts with a small exercise of tuning the instruments and ends with a fortissimo of the entire instrumental assemblage.

*[192] 1st. -- Panpipe /flauta-de-pã/. It is the syrinx of the Greeks, known regionally by the name of cariço, and in Tukano wéõ, pl. wéõ-pari. It consists of 6 to 10 tubes of taboca /a wild cane/ of different length and thickness, tied together, with the orifices in the same plane, as in a mouth organ. They always make them in pairs so that the two players are in tune and, with a third or fifth of difference, one can play the canto, and the other, the accompaniment, or contracanto. They are classified in several types, according to the number of tubes and their tonality: yõrõrí-pa, wéõ-pa, puxtirí-pa, wanỹã-pa, yõtirí-pa.

*[192]

[883] The Panpipe is, par excellence, the instrument of the young men; we have never seen it played by mature men. To the sound

• [535] of the cariços are developed pleasant dance numbers (see VII -- 6, a (4)) with varied melodies and with a recreational character in

/303 cont./

534 the interval between the ritual dances. The young women also
• 535 participate as partners to each young musician. The musicians at times dance in a row, holding /304/ the flute with the right hand, and with the left one the shoulder of the companion beside him: in this case the ladies position themselves in between, holding by the waist the two men whom one is between, one in each arm. At other times the players, in a column, go around in a circle or on a winding path, now to the right, now to the left, and then, with the left hand above their own shoulder, hold the hand of their lady.

534 2nd. -- Long flute. In Tukano at times it is called buxpú-
*[192] wõ, pl. buxpú-pawõ, which, properly speaking, indicates the sarabatana /blowpipe/. Announcing its foreign origin, however, the more common name is yapúrutu (yapurutú in the Língua Geral). It is a flute of paxiúba, without registers, measuring approximately 1.50 meters in length, with a diameter of 3 to 5 centimeters. It is blown by the upper end, having, at about 10 centimeters below, an orifice that is regulated with a thin sheet of palm leaflet, as if it were the reed of a clarinet. They are also combined in pairs, canto and contracanto.

[184] They are of various sizes and each with its name of a bird or animal, thus among the Wanãna and Kubêwana. The Tuxáua Julio of Pari-cachoeira (river Tiquié) asserted that these names are given by other tribes, not by the Tukano.

Beautiful and varied musical themes are played with this
[535] flute. It is certainly the most pleasing of the native instruments. After a short rehearsal, in order to verify the tuning of the instruments (canto and contracanto), two or four men start the dance: they hold the instrument with the right hand, while the left hand rests on the shoulder of the companion beside them. They thus move to the end of the maloca, being careful that the instrument of one does not hit that of the other as they change position to march in the opposite direction. The women who enter for the dance place themselves between two men, holding them by the waist.

/304 cont./

*192
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3rd. -- Bone flute. In Nheengatú it is known as membí, and in Tukano as way-kõ o'ã, or also puxtirí o'ã. It is a flute 15 to 20 centimeters long, made out of the bone of an animal's tibia, with three orifices longitudinally, similar to our flutes, and one upper one, vertically, through which it is blown, this orifice being partially plugged with breu /a substance like pitch/, so that the air enters in suitable intensity and direction. It takes different names, according to the name of the animal whose tibia was used: nãmá o'ã (deer bone), yaí o'ã (onça /jaguar/ bone), etc.

• [535] During the dances this flute will always be decorated with a string of Coleoptera carapaces of different colors. The men hold the instrument with the right hand in some /305/ dance numbers and make it sound intermittently, like a whistle, in the intervals of the songs.

4th. -- Cutia /agouti/ flute. This would be the translation of the Tukano name bwá-wõ, pl. bwá-pawõ, because bwá means cutia (small rodent, dasyprócta agutí). It is a small fife of taboca, 20 to 30 centimeters long, decorated with colorful feathers.

[535] There is a dance that is called bwá-baxsá, in which all the men carry this fife in their right hands. At given moments the singing stops, and each one makes his own instrument sound, like a simple whistle, but rhythmically. At a certain point some fling their fife to the ground, but recover it afterwards, making it sound anew. The dance is concluded with a stronger and more prolonged whistle.

5th. -- Caramujo. In Tukano it is called sã'ã. It is a whistle that is obtained from the caramujo /a snail/. An old native stated that this same name formerly also designated a fife of taquara or taboca, with an orifice in the center that is applied to the nose in order to emit the sound, and the extremities are obturated with the fingers. This is an instrument that many of the new generation do not know.

/310/

d) Plumage and adornment.

301 302 • 535 562

The native ornaments are many: the most striking ones are for the men (59),

> 59. This assemblage of ornaments (earrings, bracelets, necklaces, combs), the long hair in a braid, carefully combed, the depilation of the beard and the mustache, gave the Indian, according to Wallace's testimony, an appearance so effeminate, especially in the dance, when they even protected the chest with the shield of cipo and the lower part of the body with the long waxsó-ro of hanging tururí, that the English scientist thought he was in front of a woman. Wallace's opinion is that the legend of the Amazons or women warriors arose from this mistake (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, 630).

but their use on the latter is exclusively for the dances (60),

[184]

> 60. In the Roéra and Ihwãna tribes, even outside of the dances, we have seen the men, especially the young ones, with paintings on the face, bracelets on the arms, and earrings made up of a plug of colored or white feathers.

at least nowadays among the tribes of the Uaupés.

175 301

The ancient travelers speak (61)

> 61. Pe. Cristovão de Acuña, referring to the journey of Pedro Teixeira in 1639, concerning the nation of the Curizaris, which started 28 leagues below the mouth of the river Juruá,

/313 cont./

*192 237 301 562 [535]

2nd) At the time of the dance they fit to the preceding braids, and in the horizontal direction, over the nape, another plaiting of onça /jaguar/ fur, which is called poa-ri dõ'terí-dá (dõ'terí-dá means: string for tying).

3rd) They add to the preceding a small onça /jaguar/ bone, yai o'ã dõxká, and a small disk of tatu /armadillo/ shell, pamõ pe'toró, with a feather in the central hole. This decoration is called tu-si'ti-õoro.

d) Feather crests. 1st. -- Over these braids are also fitted various crests. The first consists of a rectangular plaiting of arumã and tucum, ukú-pãma, topped by long and tapered tail feathers from the garça /heron/, yehé si-á uhaú, and, on the base, red arara feathers and white ones from the harpy eagle (si-á uhaú, uropygium).
/The following paragraph is confused in the original source. The three lines from the original text, the first of which is repeated at the end of the following paragraph, are marked with slant lines in the translation./ This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck. / some of these crests that, instead of tucum, they introduced into the woven/ colored threads obtained from the civilized, and monkey fur.

The rest of the men wear a simpler crest, in which, over the ukú-pãma, are found plumes of the harpy eagle, a:--paxkõ si-á uhaú. This crest, like the preceding one, stays vertically over the nape of the neck.

2nd. -- The second crest is called a:--paxkõ wĩxtõ-põ. It consists of a stem around which is fixed with sorva a /314/ layer of very fine white down (wĩxtõ) from the harpy eagle (a:--paxkõ). It is adjusted perpendicularly over the nape, forming a right angle with the first one.

3rd. -- They further add one or two long red tail feathers from the arara, mahã pixkõ-rõ, likewise in a position perpendicular to the nape.

/314 cont./

*192 291 • 535 e) Cap. The cap, wa'wá, consists of woven work of arumã straw, exactly like a cap, which is worn over the head in a certain dance called precisely wa'wá-ri baxsá, dance of the caps. The back part is rounded, fitting the head well, and the front is flat, like the visor of our caps.

*192 302 f) Comb. We know that formerly they manufactured a comb, similar to our fine-toothed comb, called waxtá íí-ro, because as teeth they used fragments of paxiúba, waxtá. Today, however, they are very rarely used.

*192 301 [237] g) Cangatá. It is a cord with very fine and variegated toucan plumes, and it is called in Tukano daxsé si-á uhaú-dá. It remains hanging from the nape, along the back.

[177] h) Necklaces. 1st. -- The one that they wear at the neck is long, made out of flat black seeds of inajá, and is called ixkí-phe patá-dá. Or also of flat beads obtained from the civilized; this is the yaxkẽ-patá-dá.

[237] 2nd. -- Below the waist, falling over the buttocks, they often wear necklaces of onça /jaguar/ teeth, yai-pirí-dá, or of snake vertebrae, pirõ o'ãrí-dá.

[534] 3rd. -- On the right ankle they tie a necklace, generally of small tucumã nuts, bextá, or of seeds; it is the kixtyó, or rattle, which we have already mentioned, for the purpose of marking the rhythm of the steps.

*192 291 i) Loincloth. The loincloth, waxsó-ro, or tanga /covering hanging from the waist/, which they wear as a dance ornament, is a sheet of the liber of the tururí, 20 to 30 centimeters in width and about 40 centimeters in length, with red-clay paintings. It is worn hanging from the waist to the thigh. (Cf. what was said above concerning clothing, VI - 3, a.)

/314 cont./

*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komũ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

535 237

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

/315 cont./

*192 237 534 • 535 2nd. -- Umũ-ka-iti. It is a crest of white garça /heron/ feathers (yehé) and yellow ones from the japú /Icteridae/ (umũ), used like the preceding one.

3rd. -- Pexká pixkõrõá petorí, or, abbreviated, pyõrõá pe'torí. It is a beetle-carapace necklace of changeable colors (66),

> 66. A native furnished us the explanation that the pixkõrõá live inside the bacaba palm. He further added that do'tõ is "father" of the beetle pixkõrõ. It is probably a matter of insects with different phases, like the butterfly, which passes through the stages of larva and chrysalid.

which covers the bone flute during the dances.

*192 184 532 764 [178] n) Masks. On the Uaupés only the Wanãna and the Kubêwãna (67)

> 67. Koch Grũnberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 205) learned that, besides the Buhágana, the õmõa /sic/ and Sãra also wear masks. It seems that until 50 years ago or a little more, that is, around the end of the last century and the beginning of this one, the use of the masks was quite widespread among the tribes of the Tiquié and tributaries.

nowadays wear the masks in the funeral dances, and for this reason they call them ya'ko-kó su'tí-ro, that is, clothing of tears.

/316/ They are prepared with the liber of the tururí and have the shape of a nightgown, which covers the person from the head to the knees.

/338 cont./

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[123]
[126]
*[192]

/footnote 45 cont./ he would not allow him to attend the dance. Confirmation of this religious character, it seems to us, is also found in the refusal to our request to repeat the ceremony of the offering of the fish (waí poosé) under better conditions, so that we could film it. Nevertheless these Indians repeated the simple dances for us for this same purpose.

The Tukano Antônio Barreto (December of 1953) assured us that they did not do poosé in front of the whites. Nevertheless, we had the opportunity to attend it and to film it. Koch Grünberg (Zwei Iahre, p. 202): he moreover was able to attend it on the Umarí-igarapé, but many Indians appeared displeased by this, and the tuxáua José did not allow him to take photographs.

[126]

As though they were undertaking a serious ceremony and not a diversion. Nothing will disturb these rites. Singing mysterious words (ancient dialect? or, with more probability, mere corruption) which they do not understand, dancing in a slow cadence and marking the time with stronger beats with the right foot.

[533]
•[535]

/339/ 4th. -- They attribute to such feasts in addition an efficacious healing action. It can drive away all the sicknesses and even heal large wounds (46).

[755]

46. This is what Koch Grünberg was able to verify (Zwei Iahre, 202): "dem Yurupari-Tanze wird eine stark Zauberwirkung sugeschrieben /sic/. Er soll alle Krankheiten vertreiben, und selbst gross Wunden heilen" /a strong magical effect is attributed to the Yurupari dance. It is supposed to drive away all sicknesses, and even

/339 cont./

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/footnote 46 cont./ heal large wounds/. We were never able to attend such feasts on the occasion of epidemics, but we did not even hear it mentioned that they had held them.

5th. -- The sexual liberties themselves, as we shall explain below (VII - 5, c (1)), also constitute proof of the religious character of the feasts.

[301] 6th. -- The meaning that they attribute to the ornamentation. The tuxaua Mandú of Iauareté explained to us that the feathers of the garça /heron/ were put on the nape of the neck because it was there that God (?) struck it with the sarabatana /blowgun/. The feathers of the tucano /toucan/ on the back, because God struck it on the back. While the armband of monkey skin was near the left elbow, this being the place where it was hit by the sarabatana of God.

796 7th. -- A further argument would be, perhaps, the compulsory and consistent arrangement of the dancers inside the maloca.
• 535 The same Tuxáua-bayá Júlio constructed, on commission, for the
[115] Museu Salesiano de Etnografia of Manaus, in December of 1953, a
[126] miniature maloca, placing the various objects (seats, vessels, and musical instruments) in their respective places, according to the scheme below /see p. 511/.

*192 The following is the nomenclature furnished by the same
796 tuxáua:
535 a) seat of the old ones, bũxkõ̃rá duhurĩ-ko-mũ-rõ̃
b) little seat of the bayá kõ-mũ-rõ̃
c) little seat of the helper of the bayá, bayári we-tamõgõ̃ kõ-mũ-rõ̃
d, e, f, g) seats of the occupants of the maloca, wi'ĩ-khãra duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ̃
d', e', f', g') seats of the guests, samãrĩ maxsã duhurĩ kõ-mũrõ̃.

The first columns are called sahãrĩ kãrĩ: boxtá-ri, because the guests (sãhãrĩ), when they sleep (kãrĩ:) in the maloca, hang their hammocks near these first columns (boxta-ri). For this same reason the beam that rests on the first two columns is called sãhãrĩ kãrĩ:-tẽrõ̃ (tẽrõ̃, on the Uaupés tẽnõ̃, means beam).

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1c -- Sahãri kãrĩ: boxtá-ri (sleeping column of the guests); 2c -- Baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri (column for starting the dancing); 3c -- Do'ákaro-ká boxtá-ri (column of the cooking); a -- Bõxkõrá duhurĩ ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the old ones); b -- Bayá ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá or dance master); c -- Bayári wetamõgõ ko-mũ-rõ (little seat of the bayá's helper); d, e, f, g -- Wĩ khãra duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the occupants of the maloca); d', e', f', g' -- Samãrĩ maxsã duhusé ko-mũ (seats of the guests); i -- Kaxpí-tõ (pot of caapí); j -- Kaxpí tõamĩ duhiri ko-mũ-rõ (seat of the one who distributes the caapí); l -- rede /hammock/ of the tuxáua.

/341/

*192 • 535 796 The second columns are called baxsá wihyári boxtá-ri; because it is beside the second column that the tuxáua takes the initial position (wihyá: to come out) for the dances (baxsá). And the respective beam is called baxsá wihyári-tẽrõ.

The columns at the back are called do'ákaro-ká-boxtá-ri, because the caxirí is prepared there (do'ákaro, place where one cooks, so explained Júlio). And do'karo-ká-tẽrõ is the beam that corresponds to them.

i) kaxpí-tõ, pot for the kaxpí

j) seat for the one who distributes the kaxpí, kaxpí tõamĩ duhirí kõmũ-rõ

l) hammock of the tuxáua; his compartment is called syõrĩ nĩgõya tuxkũ

The compartments of the residents of the maloca are called wi'i-ikhãraye tuxkũrĩ.

[342] [622] With the hypothesis of its being a religious function, we must conclude that the temple is the maloca. Its name, baxsarí-wi, should be translated "house of the sacred dance," and not simply "dance house." The Priest is evidently the tuxáua, and not the pajé. The tuxáua, then, ties together the domestic, political, and sacerdotal powers, precisely like the ancient tribal chiefs among the Greeks and the Romans, and, in general, the chiefs of the primitive tribes.

a) "Poosé" without the mysterious instruments.

1) Ritual procession and banquet.

796 [628] The tuxáua of the maloca that decides to hold one of these feasts determines the day and the offering, and tells this to the tuxáua of another maloca (of the same tribe or of a different tribe) where he is going to give his Poosé. The malocas take turns with this proposal. [178] Formerly they were held with greater frequency, six or more times a year, as we said above, constituting the great preoccupation of these Indians. Not only are they being put off more, but their duration has also been reduced. Formerly they lasted as long as an entire week; today the cases in which they

/344 cont./

796 vice versa (50).

[574] [123] [126] [302] [562]

50. We had the opportunity to observe and "to film" the women painting the men. They used for this job, not only their own finger, but also fragments of arumá by way of a brush; sometimes three little sticks of arumá tied together in such a way that from each movement a quite regular triple line resulted. Koch Grünberg himself (Zwei Iahre, 217) let himself be painted on the chest and arms by an Indian woman.

They did not explain to us, nor could we verify, whether they must obey a rule or if they are free to choose the person whom they are to paint. "Yõo wa'rénõkõ, the one painted by me," this is how the man is designated by the woman who painted him; and "yõõ wa'réko, the one who painted me," is the expression with which the man calls her.

*[192]

[301] [554] The ornaments are distributed according to the social importance of the individuals, alternately, one for one of the guests, another for a man of the maloca. If there are not enough of them for everyone, and the maloca also has its decorations, one borrows them in order to be complete. It might happen that some will have to remain with more simple decorations and perhaps even only with paintings, because of the lack of ornaments.

[534] When everyone is ready (and this is always done with great slowness), they sit down on the small seats, and the guests play the flute of onça /jaguar/ bone (Yaí o'a). Some minutes later their tuxáua makes a speech: -- "We have come to entertain those of the maloca with our dance, and we shall dance as long as the caxiri lasts." He then sounds his kistió /sic/ (ankle snappers, cf. VII-3, c (3a)); it is a sign that the dances

*[192] 796 535

796 /344 cont./
• 535 are about to start (51).

51. We have also seen the tuxáua, before distributing the snappers to the dancers, shake them simultaneously, holding in each hand one of the ends of the snappers. These kixtió, in a bunch this way, are what is called kixtió boxká, which is also the name of one of the sacred instruments (see VII-3, c (3c)).

*[192]

The rest of the men imitate him; then each one ties his kixtió to the right ankle and adjusts his own waxsó-ro (cf. VII - 3, d (2)).

*[192] Among the men who participate in the dances, one can distinguish three groups, regularly in pairs (2, 4, 6), according to the number of dancers:

[411] *[192] 1st) some with a complete outfit, lance and shield, and on the left shoulder the si-a yaxpú /sic/ (see adze, VII-3, d (2 1));

2nd) others with a splendid outfit, but without shield or lance or the sió-a yaxpú;

*[192] /345/ 3rd) in the third category are the young men with simpler ornaments.

[534] [237] Those who do not have the lance carry some rhythm instrument, the ahũ-wõ or yuxkõ, or the flutes, these being covered with feathers from the tail of the arara, mahã i'ti, or from the japú, umũ-ka i'ti, or with a necklace of beetle carapaces, pexká pixkõrõá pe'tori (VII 3, d (2m)).

The dance numbers follow, one after the other, according to the traditional program, corresponding to the various hours of the day and of the night. Some are longer, others, shorter. The intervals for rest are also just as variable.

/345 cont./

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*[192]

Some of these dances are performed partially inside and partially outside the maloca, for example, the one that is called "wa'wári baxsá," which could be translated as "the dance of the caps," since wá-wá is a cap plaited with arumã splints. The dancers moreover go to the yard of the maloca around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, again around midnight, before dawn, and, finally, around 9 o'clock in the morning. According to the legends, the ancestors of the tribes danced at those times outside the maloca. And the feast is not only a recollection, but is also meant to be a reviviscence of the principal episodes of the epopee of their origins.

[533]
*[192]

In one of these dance numbers the wife of the local tuxáua goes into the middle of the dancers' circle and utters a long and shrill cry, while the men continue to dance around her. This soloist is called yõhõgó (52).

52. Yõhõgó is the feminine present participle of yohõ, which seems to be an onomatope of the sound that she sings. An informant also called her nõ'mõ bayá, that is, woman bayá (see VII-6, a (2)).

She must not take a breath during this dance, but cry out with only one breath. If she breathes in the middle of the song, it means that she will not live long. In this dance, says a Pira-tapuya informant (Emiliana Castro), they imitate the hopping of the cotias /agouti/.

[115]

[273]

The dances are about to start. The caxirí is served in large cuias. Each individual will drink as much as he wants. If there is any left, the next companion will empty the cuia, with the right, however, to help himself first from the cuia that will then be filled immediately. Those who distribute the drink represent the butterfly: they have a feather over each ear, representing the wings and a small tendril of cipo in a spiral on the forehead by way of a proboscis. They advance in a rush,

/345 cont./

796 • 535 [273] [562] with short steps, in a zigzag, imitating simultaneously with the mouth the humming of an insect. Bearing a cuia in each hand, they give them to anyone who wants to take them, first the men and afterwards the women. As the cuias are emptied, they return to fill them anew and to distribute them in the same place and in the same way.

/346/ 3) Performance of the dances.

* [192] [622] The tuxaua takes his initial dance position near the second column to the left of the central nave (baxsá whyarí boxtá; see illustration above /see p. 511/; at his side, in order of importance (53),

> 53. Importance which corresponds, more or less, to age. We were not able to verify whether they are arranged in an order strictly corresponding to the importance of the Gens itself (according to the classification -- IV-2, a (2) /see IV-2, a (3)/), because generally all the dancers are of the same Gens.

are arranged the other men. Each one, with a lance or a rhythm instrument in the right hand, places the left one on the right shoulder of his neighbor, and they are more or less in a semicircle. Then, a song starts to the sound of the instruments, which they strike on the ground simultaneously with the right foot (perhaps also with the mappers on the ankle), in a slow rhythm. They take a step toward the center of the circle and draw back, then another one toward the side, and they start to move in a circle, now to the right, now to the left, slowly. Sometimes they gather in a circle, which now becomes tighter, now bigger, now they go around in a circle. At a certain moment the women, one after another, start coming in, in a required, or at least constant, position during all the dance numbers. They place themselves between one man and another, with the head somewhat bent forward, resting the nape of the neck under the arm of one of

/346 cont./

the men and with her own arms holding by the waist the two men whom she is between. The eyes are turned toward the center of the circle, and the points of the lances, yõxse-phĩrĩ, converge toward this point when they carry them.

At a certain point the local tuxáua gives an order indicating that it is the middle of the dance. Two men, among the leaders, go into the middle of the circle, make some turns, and finally come back to the line with the rest.

At a special order the women abandon their places, each one shouting her word. The dance ends with expressive whooping by the men; all those armed with a lance leave, bending as if they were looking for something, and, advancing toward a corner of the maloca, make a thrust with the lance toward an imaginary point about a meter above the ground. They call this "blow-to-the-white, pexká-sã paasé" (54).

54. The Indians have always appeared very reserved in explaining to us the meaning and purpose of this "blow-to-the-white," although they had revealed its name to us without any embarrassment, perhaps thinking that we would not know how to translate it. On two occasions a native of the Tukano tribe of the lower Uaupés confirmed to us that "They do not like the whites and consider all of them enemies." Another native, also belonging to the Tukano tribe, although from the Papuri, in response to our question as to whether he liked the "white" or the "caboclo" better, asked us the meaning of the word /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ "caboclo." To our answer that caboclos were the children of a civilized man and Indian woman, such as are on the Rio Negro, he answered immediately: --"We

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/346 cont./

/footnote 54 cont./ still like the caboclos, because they are our relatives." But the tone of voice did not show much consideration toward the caboclos themselves. Armando Sarmento, at a feast of the Kubewana in July of 1955, noted that the blow-to-the-white was performed four times, and that only one of the men thrust the lance in the ground, and always at the same spot.

/347/ These dances last about twenty minutes and end in shouts, whistles, acceleration of the steps, and they advance towards a certain spot (55).

[115]

55. The Missionary Bishop Dom José Domitrovitsch explained to us that the turns are a provocation to the enemy, and the final yell is that of victory over same.

Intervals follow, during which they sit on their little seats, or around the floor, the men on one side, the women on the other, and they chat happily.

It is during these intervals that the women, generally a pair or two, with a cuia in each hand and singing songs, serve them the caxirí in abundance, first the men, then the women and children. They are convivial or, rather, bacchic songs, as we said (VII-3, c (2b)), melodies affected almost always by deep nostalgia. She will interpose, perhaps, songs of her husband's tribe between those of her own tribe, since, according to the law of exogamy, the wives are obligatorily from another tribe (cf. VIII - 1, a (1)).

[582]

Moreover, during the interval a long cigar circulates, from which they all smoke, from the tuxáua down to the last little boy, passing it afterwards to the women. The adolescents and the children take advantage of these interruptions for some of their fun.

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796 /348/

• 535 The tuxáua starts the second part of the program, placing himself, as at the first time, beside the second column; the others follow him, and the dance begins again.

[514] During the intervals that follow the dances, they go out for their needs, the men by the front door of the maloca, the women by the back one.

*[192] There are intermezzi musicali performed by the young
[534] men who play "flautas-de-pã" /Panpipes/ or japurutús (VII - 3,
[533] c (3c)). We have observed that in general it is the younger men, especially the single ones, that play the flautas-de-pã, and the ones who play the japurutús are a little older. The instruments are combined into pairs, rendering beautiful musical themes of question and answer.

4) Distribution of the kaxpí.

796 About 3 o'clock the kaxpí is served (cf. VI - 4, 1 (4) /see
273 1 (3)/). One of the old Kõmũ prepared it during the dabacurí.
*[192] At this time, in order to give it more strength, he "blows" over
[533] the kaxpí. Afterwards he goes away from the pot, sings a song, also sounding the yaí-gõ (see VII - 3, c (a) /see VII - 3, c (3a)/). An old Indian, who represents the butterfly, because of his ornaments, stations himself between the two central columns of the maloca, sitting on a small seat, in order to make the distribution (57).

> 57. At the feast of the Wanana of Caruru-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on April 24 and 25 of 1955, the first kaxpí was served by the local tuxáua himself, and before the dances, around 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

He fills two small cuias and presents them, with outstretched arms, starting with the old man who "blew" the kaxpí and afterwards to the rest, in the order of decreasing age. Anyone who wants to can spit it out later, according to what they said and

574 /352/

796 1st. -- Some of the guests come buzzing, like the carapanã
524 (crepuscular mosquitos /Culex fatigans/), and, with a little stick in the hand, they start stinging the others, who try to shoo them away.

2nd. -- Afterwards others come, pretending to be ku'sĩro (an animal perhaps legendary, similar to the dog, some say, and which makes a clamor in the forest), making noise, dragging pot or stick, doing this up to the center of the house. Those of the maloca beat on the ground with a stick in order to chase them away.

We have watched a similar challenge for two hours, finally leaving the competitors, who went on with the same enthusiasm.
[178] Nowadays many of the younger generation, instead of listening to
• [535] those monotonous narrations, prefer to dance enthusiastically with their female companions to the sound of the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/.

[273] 3rd. -- The caxirĩ is served; some no longer want it. The companions force them to take it, always in jest.

796 4th. -- The chief of the guests comes in with a torch of turĩ
574 (VI 5, a (4x)), lighted, because it is already dark. His companions come in, throwing down objects, taking fruits, beijũ, eating them. All feigning an attack on the maloca. A simulation so well done by the way that the civilized present become frightened, believing that it is a matter of an enemy attack and that a fight is about to start. In reality many feasts degenerate into fights and are intentionally taken advantage of for reciprocal vengeance.

524 5th. -- Some of the guests now come hopping, squatting,
796 imitating the toad, and making the characteristic sound with the
574 mouth: "uãõ... uãõ... " They enter the maloca, and those who are there ask the toads: -- "Where are you going?" "I am going to visit my relatives." -- "Your relatives have all died." And the toad, at this news, faints.

/352 cont./

796 524 6th. -- Afterwards some approach equipped with tipitís /mandioca presses/, in order to pretend they are snakes. Upon reaching those of the maloca, they maneuver the tipití, shortening it and lengthening it over them, as though to eat the toads (61).

796 524 535

61. Wallace (Viagens pelo Amazonas e Rio Negro /Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro/, p. 379) describes the "dance of the snake" which he attended at a feast in Iauareté. Two enormous snakes of 30 to 40 feet long, made of cipo, hay, and straw, and painted bright colors. Each one held by 12 to 15 persons, they performed dance movements, as though trying to attack each other, which actually happened after some recoiling and weaving about, to the great liking of the spectators.

/353/ 7th. -- Young men and boys, eight or ten in number, arranged more or less in order of size, starting with the taller ones, position themselves in Indian file, each one holding with his hands the shoulders of the one who precedes him, and half bent over. That whole human column advances step by step, alternately swaying to the right and to the left. The tallest young man, who leads the line, sounds the instrument called "deer head" (see VII - 3, c (3c)): pẽru wá:tya (bring caxirí) repeatedly. Unexpectedly this standard-bearer of the procession backs up, sounding kéro, kéro, kéro (quickly, quickly, quickly), forcing the whole column to back up. Sometimes the movement is so abrupt that some, generally the last ones, fall to the ground, the game provoking general hilarity. Thus the amusement proceeds.

*[192] [534]

/369 cont./

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/footnote 84 cont./ her out of there in order to subject her again to the rites of the pajés. As soon as the catastrophe happened, in the very room of death, in the hospital, the weeping by men and women, accompanied simultaneously by dancing, began at the sides of the hammock that contained the body. Among the participants in the wailing and dances was a young Tukano woman who had taken the course in midwifery in Manaus. The dancers were distributed in pairs of the same sex, and the dances were intermixed with small hops, beating at this moment, first the arms, then the legs. The husband, also present, did not participate in the dances, but he did participate in the weeping. Later, once the body had been moved to the entrance room of the hospital, the old mother lay down on the floor, under the hammock where the daughter had died, with her legs and arms open, singing the elegy-weeping.

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The men utter cries and imprecations against those who caused the death; because every death, so they think, is a true murder perpetrated by some enemy by means of a malefice. The women too, appropriately called uxtĩra (Uaupés uxtĩha), mourners, between exclamations and with /370/ very sentimental thoughts, do the eulogy of the dead and imprecate against the pajés or persons who cast the spell, the alleged

*[192]

/374 cont./

764 3) Funeral libation and feast. Soon after the burial (perhaps the following night), according to the circumstances and the length of time needed for the preparations, a feast takes place in the maloca. Obligatorily consisting, as always, of abundant [535] libations of caxirí and the traditional dances, over the tomb of their companion.

It has not been reported, however, that at this funeral caxirí there might be particular mention of the late one. Perhaps one [628] of the guests will be the one to whose malefice the death is attributed. They invite him in order, in the alcoholic exaltation, to avenge the death of the "brother."

765 It is to be noted that there is no repugnance in speaking of the "dead," mihĩ (the late one).

*[192] There is therefore no evidence either of any external sign of mourning that would be observed for some time, or of traces of commemoration of the dead, as we might expect from so much union in life and from some circumstances of the burial, which we have already pointed out. Unless this occurs in the dances and songs of the poosé. Our native informants, however, did not know or did not want to clarify this for us.

[775] In contradiction with this closeness or bond with the dead, there is the belief that the dead become transformed into Wãx-tĩ (disembodied spirit) and can frighten them or even harm them, as was said previously (cf. VII -- 4 e (2 c -- What to think of Wãx-tĩ?)).

[115] Formerly among the Taryana, stated Felisberto from Urubu-
[535] cuara, six days after the death of a tuxáua, or of some kõmũ, the caxirí (funeral feast) with the "dance of the masks" or the "great weeping" was held.

CANNIBALISM

121 The practice of eating human flesh is called cannibalism
266 or anthropophagy.

In America it is a custom verified among the Karaíba, hence the tendency to include in this group all the cannibal tribes.

/391 cont./

527 • 535 Some of these dances are strictly familial amusements, in which only those of the family (maloca or house) participate, and there are no invitations to strangers. For others, strangers to the family are also invited, without, however, the importance or the number of participants of the "Poosé."

[273] Corresponding to the importance of such entertainments will also be the preparation, the ornaments, the paintings, and the quantity of the drinks, Pêru (caxirí, see VI - 4, h). The latter will never be missing; the ornaments might be missing, or they might use the simpler ones. Once the feast starts, it goes on uninterruptedly until the drink is finished. Those who are overcome by sleep doze a little, but, barely awake, they continue to dance. It is a [562] question of pride and conceit, for the persons of the two sexes, to show the greater endurance.

*[192] 2) "Bayá." -- At the dances, both in the Dabacurís and outside of them, appears a personage of distinction, called Bayá. Almost /392/ always he will have an official assistant, with the name of baya-re we-tamõgõ (helper of the Bayá).

The position of Bayá is a lifetime one, in which the son almost always succeeds him, because he learns with his own father, for whom, perhaps, he was already the official assistant. The function of Bayá might be put together with that of tuxáua or wyogõ. This is the case for Júlio from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié); for Vicente, Desana from the Umari-igarapé, for Henrique, Tuyuka from the stream of the onça /jaguar/ (trib. of the Tiquié), for Mandú, Makú from the vicinity of Iauareté, etc. There are no examples, however, of its having been exercised by the pajé.

It falls to the Bayá to direct the songs and dances at the feasts, both religious and profane. He must, then, know them very well and be zealous about the exactness of the dances, teaching them to the younger generation and correcting the mistakes. And we have seen him exercise with authority and grace his function as master of ceremonies in solemn dabacurís.

*[192] When he is not the tuxáua, he ordinarily will be one of the ko-mũ (see VII - 2, e (3)), and to him falls the first place immediately beside the tuxáua. Like the latter, he will have the most

/392 cont./

527 beautiful ornaments, and in certain dance numbers, in the right
535 hand, the "yu-yú" (see below, dances, 5th part), the significance of
[192] which it was not possible for us to obtain. It consists of a small stick, having on the tip a cord from whose end hangs a loop of cipo about 15 centimeters in diameter. Cord and loop are decorated with delicate and striking tucano /toucan/ feathers. With this instrument he "beats time for the dances," that is, he shakes it rhythmically, more or less as the conductor who directs an orchestra does with his baton.

[192] 3) Variety of dances. -- One does not notice variety in the dance steps; they are precisely the same for the most solemn Poosé as for the simplest baxsarí-nãmã̃ (literally it means dance day).

527 There are no distinct terms equivalent to song and dance. The
533 word baxsasé translates their ideas, because they always sing during
535 the dances; and the words correspond to the rhythm of the feet and to the choreography of the movements executed.

They distinguish varieties of baxsasé, according to the musical instrument that they use; each one will have its lyrics or song. In the religious dances they are words or sounds articulated without any meaning, and they are repeated many times for the duration of the movement of the steps. The tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira,
[115] Júlio Silgueira Machado, declared to us, and many others with him, that they do not understand what they are singing.

They also vary the melodies, which are ordinarily slow, sad, although some might be pleasant and quite melodious. For /393/ this reason different names for the dances, sometimes even poetic names, appear.

[184] In different tribes we have verified the similarity in the feasts, the same ornaments and instruments. One must point out this detail: the melodies of the instrumental music are almost identical, whereas those of the song-dances differ a little more. In the steps of the dances one does not perceive any difference from tribe to tribe. That is, even in the two extremes of the native Uaupésina hierarchy, to wit, the noble tribe of the Tukano, and the slave tribe of the Makú from the outskirts of Iauaretê.

535 The tuxáua-bayá Júlio gave us the following names of dances that are performed in the most solemn Poosé:

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1st. With the rhythm tube or ahũ̃wõ̃:
Ixki pũrĩ bõrõasé baxsá -- song-dance "the falling of the leaves of the inajá" or
Ixki pũrĩ baxsá -- "song-dance of the leaf of the inajá."

2nd. With the maracá or yaxsã̃ (ya'sã́ or ñaxsã̃):
pexká baxsá -- "song-dance of the firewood"
ka'i baxsá -- "song-dance of the mass of the umarí"
kenõ̃ baxsá -- "song-dance of the jatobá."

3rd. With a simple rhythm stick or yuxkõ̃:
Poori baxsá -- "song-dance of the offering" (of the dabacurí)
wai baxsá -- "song-dance of the fish"
Wãx-tiá baxsá -- "song-dance of the Wãx-tí."

4th. With the small flute called bwá (cotias /agoutis/):
bwá baxsá -- "song-dance of the cotias."

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Júlio, the tuxáua-bayá from Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié), sang for us the various songs whose words or articulations we give in the following, revealing once more that all the "verses" were repeated many times (128).

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128. We lament not having had a recording machine at the time when this tuxáua, with the best state of mind, furnished us this information. Later, in the possession of such apparatus, we went twice to Parí-cachoeira, where we waited for a long time for the opportunity of listening to him and recording his songs. It was not possible, however; the old Tuxáua was in the last months of his life, afflicted, it seems, with an internal ulcer, dying on July 5, 1954. We were able, however, to witness and film the solemn funeral of a highly esteemed Tuxáua. We nevertheless obtained other precious recordings, and, among these, the various songs of the Wanana, performed by the tuxáua Mandú from Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and of the pajés of various tribes (cf. the "Discoteca Etno-linguístico-musical" /Ethno-linguistic-musical Record Collection/).

/396 cont./

192 7. Song-dance with the bwá (flute or small fife)
533 Mã-ã-ã. Eyarí mamã eyarí mamã kapinã
539 Periku yavi-i-i davyá (Yavi = long, slim?)
Davyá yavi
Davi kawá-á nomã yavi-nõ
Davi kawá yaú; davi kawá yaú.
Kapiná periküli
Davyá yavi yú
Kawá-yavyá mã-ã-ã (he blows the flute at length)

[115] 8. Song-dance with the yaxsã or small maracá
[574] (For example, said Júlio, "Tuyuka invites Tukano for the feast. The Tuyuka sing in the maloca, when they are finished singing, the Tukano, from outside, sing" the following:)
Yẽ-ẽ dyá yakẽ marí
Kemẽ maryé-é
Kemẽ maryé-é kenaní
Wekã-ni kená amÿá
Wekã kená maryé pyá
Kenã yá marÿé
Wekã-ne ma-yá axpekã ané
Wekã-re kenaní wekã-re
Kená tše! tšá!
(They repeat alternately, now the Tuyuka sing, now the Tukano.)

4) The dances.

• 535 a) Preparation. We shall describe one of the dances for simple
[115] amusement, performed, however, with great solemnity, and how the most important personage of the group, the tuxaua /397/ Mandú from Iauareté, and the humblest of the extras, a young man of 18 to 20 years old, Marcelino by name, appeared.

535 Mandú (131)
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131. The tuxáua, who had received us dressed in pants, although without a shirt, in order to prepare for the dances, took off the pants and continued with his Waxsó-ro of cloth; he did not put on, as on other occasions, the large Waxsó-ro of hanging inner-bark.

/397 cont./

• 535 237 301 wore on his head a wide acangatara /head ornament/ with arara feathers; a wig with braids of monkey skin and with two long, red arara feathers and an onça /jaguar/ bone. From the wig, leaning toward each ear, there was a long, white heron feather. Hanging over the back the cangatá, a cord with tucano /toucan/ feathers. Also on the wig, close to the nape, the crest, or rectangular woven piece with long heron feathers. On the neck three long necklaces of beads and a necklace of seeds with the stone of command. From the ears, earrings made out of a burnished half of a gun cartridge. [302] As painting on the forehead, a red semicircle turned upward and a large cross from the neck to the waist (132),

[123] 132. At a dance that we attended in the maloca of the Tuyuka in the igarapé of the Onça /jaguar/, upper Tiquié, from the painting of the Kõmĩ resulted a cross on the face with a broad stroke from the forehead along the nose and upper lip, and the arms of the cross curved upward almost in a semicircle.

also in the color red. On the left elbow, a bracer of monkey skin. In the form of a belt, over the buttocks, a necklace of teeth, to which he later attached two branches of that magic and intensely *[192] aromatic shrub called bará. In the course of the dance he fitted to the right ankle a necklace of seeds (Kixtyõ).

Marcelino wore a small, denticulated wreath of fine straw, with yellow down from the arara: at the nape the crest with white plumes and a long feather surrounded by a string of colorful plumes. On the left elbow the armband of monkey skin. Hanging at the back, braids of monkey skin decorated with arara down.

*192 b) Execution. A small rehearsal took place in order to verify whether the japurutús /long flutes/ were in tune with each other, as 534 well as the cariços /Panpipes/. A little caxiri was drunk.

The tuxaua executed the yaí-gõ paasé, that is, he made the 534 rhythm stick, called "stick-of-the-onça /jaguar/," decorated with 535 feathers, vibrate several times on the right muscle of the arm. He *[192] took some steps in rhythm with the pestle-tube of imbauba, and he

/397 cont./

534 took up a position in front of the second post at the left, in the
• 535 /398/ central nave (133).

[342]

133. Their rectangular maloca, although not of large dimensions, corresponded to a division of five naves: the central high nave, under the ridge, two side spaces, and, along the side walls, the space reserved for the families. It is to be noted, however, that there is no interior partition between family and family.

The men imitated his steps and, on his left, formed an open semi-circle.

*[192] 1st Part: Each one places the left hand on the right shoulder of the companion (Pá-bwasé is the Tukano name for this gesture). They execute some rhythmic beats with the pestle-tube (it is what is called yuxkõ-mẽra doxkesé) and some steps with the right foot forward and back (du'tisé). Then the line moves (nikã̃-ká eheanõ-kátyãra baxsasé) to the right and to the left until the circumference is closed, making some turns from the left to the right (sũtõasé) (134).

134. They explained to us that they are imitating the bavarí fish, which, before depositing its eggs, makes a few turns.

533 At the same time the men slowly sing unintelligible words, with a
535 frequent burden in which are sounded many times the syllables "paia-paia." The rhythm is accelerated at the end, and a cry and a heavy stroke with the rhythm tubes end the first part. During this
[562] part the women remained seated in conversation near the door, to the left of anyone who enters (135).

[123]

135. We, the three civilized observers, were to be found on the opposite side, at the right.

/398 cont./

533 2nd Part: Position taken, as in the first part. The left hand on the right shoulder. The dance starts with an accelerated rhythm, a sharp cry and loud whistle (Wyisé) (136).

535 [192]

136. I had found it strange that up to then I had not heard the Indians whistle, when I always expected to hear them whistling in the forest, on walks, on trips, when they were rowing, and there was only silence or conversation in a discreet tone.

[192] Afterwards the singing takes a slow rhythm, the syllables "kapii-kapii" being heard frequently in the burden. A circle from the right

[192] broken up by another from the left. The women start entering, one by one: the first one places herself to the left of the tuxaua, with the nape she touches his left arm (yohoasé), extended to the right shoulder of the neighbor, and she embraces by the waist the two men between whom she is located. Thus successively. They give only two complete turns, and the women leave. The dance ends with an accelerated rhythm of the singing, of the steps, and with a final whistle. Then follow minutes of rest and of caxirí.

[534] 3rd and 4th Parts: These are numbers in which only the younger ones participate, playing the flauta-de-pã /Panpipe/ (3rd part) or the japurutú (4th part), /399/ with an interval during which they smoke and drink caxirí. These intermezzo numbers are very pleasant. Each young man brings his instrument, which harmonizes well with the others, one of them playing the contracanto, or response to the theme that the first one plays. These themes are very melodic short canons, in a florid scale, with ascending and de-

[192] scending notes. Sometimes the young men only dance, and then they go in pairs, the one on the right a little farther behind, holding his instrument with the right hand and, with the left one, the right shoulder of the other (pábwasé), who also plays his own instrument and has the left hand on the hip. Upon reaching the back, they make an evolution and exchange positions, the right one coming in front, with the left hand on the hip, and his companion farther back, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the first one.

/399 cont./

*192 • 535 [534] If there are also women, the couples are arranged in such a way that the young man holds the instrument with the right hand, and, with the left hand above his own shoulder (it is what is called ifiatusé), he holds the right hand of the girl, who rests her left hand on her own waist (pá-su'sĩsé). The dancers start with only the men advancing toward the interior of the maloca, and, as snappers, a necklace of small tucum nuts on the right ankle in order to mark the rhythm. They go around in a circle, one after the other, to the right, then in the opposite direction to the left; then, opening the circle wider, they advance four times with the right foot toward the center, and they come back to the initial position. When the young men decide to walk, their companions present themselves. The couples are arranged. Sometimes the couples, one after the other, make evolutions describing the number eight (baxsá-mãhãmi betoá) or a spiral (baxsá sõ'tõã) to the right or to the left. At other times they are arranged in circles that become elongated or tighter, they turn to the right or to the left. During this entire evolution, they mark the rhythm with a stronger stroke with the right foot (dõ'pó-tisé). The women withdraw before the ending. The performances always end with a fortissimo of all the instruments.

*192 533 535 They are very pleasant melodies, but not infrequently the evolutions are so prolonged that they seem to be a contest of endurance. The spectators watch complacently from their hammocks, laughing and making comments, probably about the inaccuracy of the steps of the clumsier ones.

5th Part: While these numbers were displayed, one of the dancers went to prepare the "Yu'yúri-tiró." The tuxaua with his rhythm tube takes his position, and this time the men are distributed symmetrically on his right and on his left, in a semicircle. They start with an accelerated rhythm, then whistle, a slow dance following, to the singing of a funeral song. One of the Indians brings two yu'yú and gives /400/ one of them to the tuxaua, who is also the Bayá, the other to the latter's brother, bayá-re wetamõgõ, who is immediately to the left of the tuxaua. They hold the

/400 cont./

533 yu-yú with the left hand, and with the right one they beat the
• 535 rhythm tube.
z[192]

The yu-yú of the dances

Tobacco form

z[192] The dancers are divided into two groups, who execute the movement by advancing and retreating (baxsá poterí), one in front of the other. Afterwards they place themselves in line, each one with his lady, describing circles. They again divide themselves into two groups, who advance and retreat. Now they turn their backs to one another, always with advances and retreats. It seems that the new song consists of several verses, each one ending with cries and whistles. At given moments some say words in a loud voice, just as the caller of square dances does. Would they be ceremonial words or a simple command for the evolutions to be performed? The women, finally, leave the dance, and the men continue in Indian file, with the left hand on the right shoulder of the preceding one. This file goes to describing circles, stopping from time to time, always, however, singing and beating the rhythm with the strokes of the rhythm tube.

[562] 6th Part: Performed only by the men, as in the first part.
[273] After this part, one of the dancers advances in order to distribute
[276] the caxirí with a cuia in each hand, mumbling some words and stamping the right foot harder, in a winding progression, like that of the snake. He gives one cuia to the tuxaua and the other to the most important person. The second time he brings some to two more, and thus to everyone. Also the long cigar of leaves goes from mouth to mouth.

/400 cont./

*192 533 534 535 7th Part: The tuxaua ties to his right ankle a necklace of dry nuts (kixtyó). He then takes a position with his rhythm tube. The men are arranged on his right and on his left, each one with his rhythm tube in the right hand and the left one on his neighbor's right shoulder. The yu'yús are brought to the tuxaua and to his /401/ neighbor. It starts with a rhythm of strokes and steps in the same place, cry, whistle, and afterwards a funeral song in pianissimo, which goes crescendo slowly, while they move some steps to the right and to the left. They stop sometimes to take a step inside the circle and another backwards and to the side. This part was more prolonged, and the syllables "tyúko-malía" were heard many times in the burden. The group of dancers go outside the maloca, in the yard of which they perform the same steps as inside (yohá-wíhyá). They come back again to the maloca, the *[192] women abandon their position. At the finish there were only the men, who, after a small evolution, take the initial position, in a semicircle, and end the singing with small jumps (bu'pusé) and somewhat comical cries.

5) Wanãna song-dances.

115 533 The Wanãna Tomás Paiva, oldest son of Mandú, the present (1957) tuxáua of Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés), and his probable successor, confirmed that the ritual songs were "ancient language," and, for this reason, they did not understand them. Through the desire to learn them well, and to maintain the old traditions, he tried to make inquiries from his father, esteemed local tuxáua-bayá, and from the "elders," and to write about them. There might perhaps be about 45 songs, he told us. We are of the opinion that this number would cover not only the songs, but indeed all the parts or verses: or perhaps even the repetitions of one and the same part or verse. It happened, however, that when he went to work as a carpenter in Venezuela those in his house used his writings for cigarette paper.

*192 534 535 [115] With the collaboration of another Wanãna, Maximiano from Sá, he indicated to us the following order for the dances:

1st Dance -- with the bwá flute, hence the name bwá baxsá

/401 cont./

*192 (dance of the cotias /agouti/) (137).

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137. A big feast was held in Carurú-cachoeira (river Uaupés) on the 24th and 25th days of April of 1955, with the participation of about 250 persons of both sexes and of all ages and representatives of various tribes, especially Wanãna, Kubêwana, and Huhúdene (the latter from the Arwáke group, from Uaupuim-cachoeira, river Aiarí, tributary of the Içana). During this feast the first dance numbers were to the sound of the bwá. They were small taquara flutes of about 30 centimeters in length by about two in diameter, only one side opening, at about 10 centimeters from the mouthpiece, which was vertical. The lower part of these fifes ended with two small sticks of taquara, with two points or horns (perhaps symbolizing the teeth of the cutia /agouti/). As a decoration on this flute there were two strings of white plumes, tied to the flute by the upper extremity and free at the other extremity. In certain dance numbers some individuals would throw their flute to the ground, picking it up immediately afterwards.

In the interval between the verses or parts, the dancers /402/ sound their flutes. It consists of four parts, that is: 1st) õnõña baxsá (song-dance of the carajurú /carajura/); 2nd) pĩnó baxsá (song-dance of the snake); 3rd) kaxpí baxsá (song-dance of the Caapí); 4th) no-phĩ baxsá (song-dance of the hook for collecting fruits).

2nd Dance -- with the rhythm tube, ahũ-wõ̃ (in Wanãna wanẽ (138).

138. During this same feast of the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, the rhythm tubes, measuring approximately a meter in length and 10 centimeters in diameter, were painted white (with sorva), having a black lower bar of about 10 centimeters and the handle, by which it is held, decorated with a crest of hawk feathers in the shape of a Greek epsilon.

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/402 cont./
It also consists of several parts, the principal ones are: sawároa baxsá (song-dance of the water lizard); ahũ-a baxsá (song-dance of the beijú); ki baxsá (song-dance of the mandioca).

3rd Dance -- with the maracá, yaxsã. It is called pwá baxsá (pwá is the name of a fish that the Wanãna call ĩĩxkwãna in their idiom). All the men, from the beginning to the end of this long dance, shake the maracá continually and rhythmically with the right hand (the left one holds his own lady by the shoulder, and the latter embraces him by the waist). They also rhythmically sound a whistle of two tubes, which they will let hang from the neck when they must sing. It is the most interesting number of the native dances that we have attended. They first do a movement outside in the yard, then they enter the house, and, after a few minutes of choreography inside, they again go to the dance yard. There is an evolution in a row, which little by little closes into a circle, which now becomes tighter, now larger. At a given moment the pairs of dancers, each man with his lady, are arranged in a column turned toward the east, later in the opposite direction, toward the west. Thus arranged in a column, the last pair goes zigzagging between the other pairs, from the penultimate one to the first one, as if they were sewing. They explained that it is the "dance of the harvest of the caroá" (fiber that is used as fishing line). When their evolution is finished, the last pair returns to their initial position, and then the pair from the other end, that is, the first one, does the same stitching and returns to their position. It falls, now, to the penultimate pair to do the movement, and then to the second one, and thus all the pairs pass by, in turn, performing the stitching or the harvest of the caroá. During this they vibrate only the whistles and the maracá. At other times during this dance there is also singing.

[821] 4th Dance -- called "Bwá of the night," because night has already fallen. They again go out, as homage to the night and to the moon, /403/ muhĩ-pũ (said Tomás Paiva). The tunes vary for these songs, all of which are composed of several parts, with many repetitions.

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*[192]

/462 cont./
and directs the collective work of the women, especially the preparations for the caxiris and dabacuris. It is incumbent on her to greet and to thank, in the name of the women, the guests /463/ who came to the feast in the maloca. In certain dances she has the distinctive role of soloist, Yõhõgó or Nõ'mõ-Bayá (VII - 4, e (2 a 2)). /Footnote 98 apparently belongs here, although the index number is missing./

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98. At a great feast which we had the opportunity to attend among the Wanana of Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, we saw the wife of the Tuxaua in one of the intervals of the dances approach the group of women who were seated and rebuke them. We suppose that it might have been due to the women's indecision in appearing for the preceding dance number.

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On the occasion of the death of the Tuxaua of Parí-cachoeira, the Tukano Júlio, on July 5, 1954, we had the opportunity to see some documents carefully kept by the deceased and his family, that is, a manuscript with the appointment successively of his great-grandfather, João Silgueira, and grandfather, Manoel Silgueira, for the position of Capitão of Parí-cachoeira, appointment made by the Capuchin Missionary Frei Venâncio Zilocchi, on December 5, 1882, with the visa, dated August 7, 1923, of Padre João Bálzola, Salesian. Another letter of appointment with printed heading, signed by the Capuchin Frei Gesualdo Marchetti, on May 30, 1885, also with the visa of Padre João Bálzola, of August 7, 1923. The following are the contents of these documents:

I, below signed, Frei Venancio Zilocchi, Apostolic Franciscan Missionary of the Rio Tiquih., tributary of the Rio Uaupés, and Director of the Missions established on it, appoint Capitão of the Mission of S. Pedro d'Alcantara the Senhor principal of the said Mission, João Silgueira, and in his absence the Older

/474 cont./

614 If by Phratry we understand any subdivision of the tribe (even if it does not constitute a true community, because it does not have a chief), these Subtribes or Kurá could be called Phratries (or Sibs, as some modern ethnologists prefer). They correspond to the Phratries of ancient Greece, while, like those, they are also exogamous and of paternal descent. It is to be noted, however, that marriage between one phratry and another of the same tribe is not permitted.

/475/ The Phratry or Kurá, which at first is identified with the maloca, with the passing of time unfolds into several local groups. In these, however, there is no trace that this might be a matter of a totemic clan; they are only territorial family groups or agnatic kinship groups, which we could call, using the Latin term, Gens.

f) Totemism?

There are different indications that make one think of the operation of totemism with its totemic clans and customs.

1st. -- The groups (tribes and subtribes) bear names of animals (Tucano /toucan/, arapaço /Dendro colaptidae/ or pica-pau /woodpecker/, juritĩ /dove/, jibóia, etc.) or of plants (miriti, cunuri /Cunuria/, etc.), as is the custom of totemic clans.

[237] [301] [535] 2nd. -- There appear in the dance ornaments feathers of the garça /heron/, arara, tucano /toucan/, gavião /hawk/; fur of the macaco and onça /jaguar/, teeth of the onça or of other animals; snake vertebrae, etc. These ornaments recall to memory the place in which the animal was wounded, as if it were an exaltation of the animal sacrificed and an identification between the individual and the animal formerly sacrificed by God or (?) to God.

[535] [532] 3rd. -- In the dances there are personages and masks (where they wear them, that is, among the Kubewĩna of the Uaupés and the Arwake of the Içana), which represent the borboleta /butterfly/, the cotia /agouti/, etc., and these personages try to imitate the movements of these animals and there are also corresponding chirps or songs.

[825] 4th. -- The tucano /toucan/, due to the disproportionate weight and volume of its beak, does not have great autonomy of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

tion seemed natural enough to the *Bahúkiwa*. It is not an exclusive sib cult.

The ancestor instruments lay nearby in a secret place on the river bank, upstream from the maloca, dressed in ceremonial dance feathers (*mápena*) because, as the Indians said, "our ancestors love to dance." (When the trumpets are removed the *mápena* is laid aside). The party first fetched the instruments so that the ancestors might accompany them on berry picking. Intermittently during the morning those of us at the maloca could hear the horns, at times sounding near and then trailing into the distance. The party returned in the late afternoon. The women at their chores near the river bank paused to listen to the low, mournful notes of the oncoming horns. A shot from the canoe was a warning signal that sent the women running for the house, laughing and shrieking at one another to hurry.

The canoe came into sight, low in the water with its heavy burden of berries neatly packaged in baskets of loosely plaited palm fronds. The youngsters were paddling and their escorts played the horns, swinging them from side to side to sound in all directions. Now the women, who had gathered at the rear door of the maloca, ran off together to the manioc gardens, their traditional sanctuary, those in the lead calling to the laggards to hurry.

The river was low and the canoe could not be seen except from the very edge of the high bank. No one, except the ethnographer, came to look. The party unloaded the berries. They bathed, and having bound fresh sprays of fragrant leaves over their buttocks, ascended the steep path. At the top of the bank the men formed themselves two abreast and marched upon the house sounding the horns, the youngsters trailing after them. Only three pairs of the traditional five were used, *Bwü*, *Onpwénda kûdjûwe*, and *Onpwénda*.

The men sounding the horns, as embodiments of the ancestors, assumed a stern and almost menacing manner. This unaccustomed countenance seemed to frighten the boys and they were visibly nervous. The men were not at this moment concerned with the boys, but with bringing the ancestors and their powers into the house. They marched upon the house in the familiar dance step of a long measure and a pause, two long measures and a pause, and then three quick steps. At the pause, the six players swayed and swung their instruments in a high wide arc before them, the two *Bwü* horns in the lead, followed by *Onpwénda kûdjûwe* and *Onpwénda*.

The ancestors did not enter the house immediately but paused at the front plaza. No man came out of the house, not because it was taboo but as a courtesy.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends.

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river.

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center. 574 [342]

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough. 574 571 614

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers. 574 273 [462]

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner. [535] [191] [184] [276]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 276 provided. Men pass cigarettes to one another after a puff or two. A man will ordinarily pass a cigarette to his own wife only, for the giving of a cigarette to a woman has a potentially erotic significance. When a woman receives the cigarette she passes it among her children until finally the suckling baby has had a smoke. She then returns it to her husband. The custom of sharing the cigarette has been widely observed along the Vaupés and its tributaries. The Indians [521] accept it as a mark of friendship and of trust. Ceremonious smoking [887] of cigars held in forked holders accompanies the dignified conversa- [614] tions of the sib elders and is mandatory when these old men get together to chant the sib origin traditions. Several cigars are lighted and are passed around. There is no way of sharing coca, but *mihí*, as we have noted, is "danced in" by the sons of the hosts, and the little ornamented beaker in which it is kept is passed around.

574 535 Dancing begins when the assembly is warmed up with drink. At an *unkúndye*, dancing, being secular, is for the young, the adolescents and unmarried and the younger married men and women. In [533] the most common dance three or four young men line up abreast, left arm across a companion's shoulder, with the long dance flageolet, that sounds the song of the butterfly, in the right hand. An orchestra of Panpipes, seated to one side, sets the rhythm to which the dancers move and sound the flageolets. Starting at the rear of the house they move down the long dance corridor to a beat that starts as one slow step, a pause, two shorter steps, a pause, and then three rapid, almost running, steps, the inevitable Cubeo procedure of placing all ritual in the metric structure of *adagio* to *presto*. They reach the front of the house, their bodies swaying forward and back as they come down the corridor and gracefully swinging from side to side as they prepare to pivot, swinging the flageolets up and [614] around in unison. The first dancers are usually of the host sib and are brothers. During the early stages of the dance, as each of the visiting sibs puts its dancers on the floor, the formation is of brothers. It is not until much later during the night that drink and excitement have dissolved the fraternal bonds and allowed for the indiscriminate formation of dance teams. As the dancers move down the corridor the unmarried girls begin to stir; they giggle, nudge one another, sway forward with the desire to get up and join. But they are shy. They seek encouragement from one another. Often an older woman, a girl's mother, whispers sharply, "Go on, dance." Then two or three girls get up from the side lines and run behind the dancers, pacing themselves so as to slip under the yokes of the men's arms in the precise beat.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293; II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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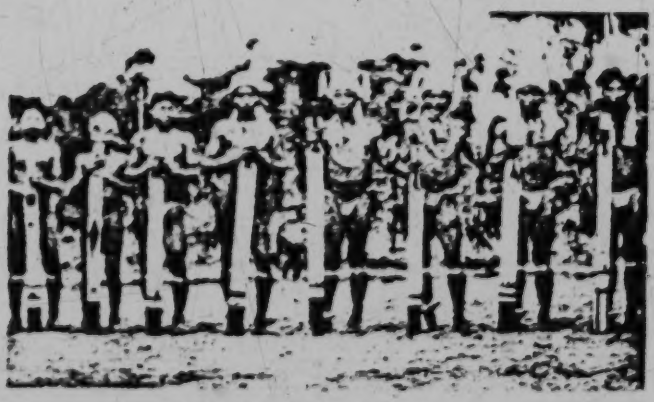

Fig. 10. *Hehenewa* men in full dancing costume.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

574 535 831 she looks uncomfortable and solemn. The girls accompany the men for a few turns and then as unobtrusively as they entered the dance formation they leave it, disengaging their heads, backing away, and running quickly back to their places among the women. They are replaced by another group. Much later in the evening an observer is startled to discover heated and even violent disputes erupting all over the house as a result of these innocent-appearing dances.

574 535 [533] There is another dance in which the sexes are actually paired. The man plays either a Panpipe or a long flageolet and drops his left arm over the woman's shoulder while she encircles his waist lightly with her arm. This dance formation starts as a circle which, after making several turns, breaks up into couples who dance down the corridor one behind the other. During the circle dance a woman emits a long piercing shriek. I was given no explanation for this other than the vague comment, "Women feel like doing this."

Perhaps it is not overinterpreting too much to suggest that the form of the dance parallels some basic principles of Cubeo social structure: the unity of the fraternal sibling group; women as ancillary, fitting themselves in between the brothers, coming and going; the segmentary nature of the sibs; the feeling for obliterating what is after all an indelible mark of sib apartness. As for the erotic connotations of the dance, one may perhaps speculate on the phallic character of the flageolet. This instrument, by the way, is so long that when the dancer holds it before him the bottom is only bare inches from the ground. If he is careless as he dances and allows it to strike the ground he may lose his teeth. The dance starts with the instrument held down close to the earth. When the dancer has reached the forward end of the house he arcs the instrument high over his head. The flageolet resembles, but is not to be confused with, one of the ancestor trumpets that is brought out during ancestral cult celebrations. Then the deep sound of the flageolet stands for the deep and sacred voices of the ancestors, that bring to the men physical force, sexual potency, and bodily growth. The Cubeo make the obvious association between the deep tones and the solemn, and the high tones and the frivolous. In ensemble playing they also recognize one of the instruments as a leader and the others of the same group as followers. In the drinking party dances, flutes and Panpipes complement each other; the flutes are butterflies and the large Panpipes are vultures. Solemnity is always associated with the acquisition of powers. The movement of the dance is, as we have already noted, from slow to rapid. The last step before the dancers leave the floor is very rapid, almost a run, and the dancers in their excitement

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5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

shout *hi i i i* and are answered by the audience. The men start dancing alone and finish dancing alone. Dancers of the host sib begin their dance in the house and may sally out onto the plaza, an extension of the house, and then dance back in. Guests, on the other hand, begin their dance formation on the plaza, move into the house, and conclude on the plaza.

The Cubeo regard women as disruptive elements at a drinking party. They have cause to do so, since it is the women who are encouraged by the character of the dancing to make the overtures of flirtatiousness. Women choose their partners and men maintain an air of innocence. A woman's sexual forwardness goes beyond that. Young girls and many married women wear love charms in their hair at a drinking party. This is nothing more than a colorful blossom that declares that a woman would like to attract the interest of a man. The Indians themselves are not quite sure whether the blossom, which they call *chondú* (*pedidya* in Cubeo) has inherent qualities as a love charm – a serious woman has truly powerful love charms that she uses secretly – or is merely provocative symbolically. In any case a man cannot be blamed if *chondú* provokes him. The use of *chondú* adds intensity to the atmosphere of a drinking party as effectively as do chicha, coca, tobacco, *mihí*, and dancing. Whether or not *chondú* is an official ingredient it is hard to say. The men speak of it as a feminine provocation. Yet if one looks at the drinking party in its inevitable progression from calm to frenzy it seems that, whether it is an official ingredient or not, it fits. Just as the counterpoint of male and female is part of everyday community life, so the more intensely experienced counterpoint of male and female is exploited for its frenzy-producing quality.

A married woman should not wear *chondú*, but a man cannot stop his wife from displaying her interest in other men. He then excuses her by saying she does it only to look pretty and keeps a wary eye on his brother sib and phratry mates. For the unmarried girls *chondú* is formal wear, even though the only man whose eye it might catch is likely to be a sister's husband or a forbidden phratry mate. Curiously, unmarried girls are often even more provocative by not wearing *chondú*. This is arrogance that says, "I am not interested in the men here." A married woman may wear *chondú* only to tease her husband in a lighthearted way. Understanding this he is even delighted. She may do so, on the other hand, to irritate him. The rule of sober everyday life is to avoid quarrels and issues. The drinking party roils up feelings to the point where what has been latent erupts forcefully into the open. If emotional catharsis is a "function"

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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The Mourning Ceremony

Mourning for the recent dead provides the setting for the most complex and most important of Cubeo ceremonies. These ceremonies, known collectively as *óyne* (weeping),[1] usually take place as late as a year after death, preferably during the dry season when the pupunha palm is ripe. I attended two mourning ceremonies, one among a *Bahúkiwa* subsib and one, a very elaborate affair, among the *Hehénewa*. The last I witnessed from the very beginning.

The *óyne* consists of two parts: a long, three-day section, followed about a month later by a one-day concluding ceremony at which the spirit of the dead is finally evicted from the community.[2] During the first part, masked dancers impersonate many of the familiar beasts, birds, insects, and fish, as well as the mischievous spirits of the Cubeo world. These spirit beings come to mourn, but mainly to turn the people from grief. On this occasion the tribal "grandmother" and her consort, in the form of two great bark trumpets, also arrive to mourn.

Koch-Grünberg, reporting on the same group of *Hehénewa*, says that the trumpets are called *Uménahonkü* (Dragonfly) (1909, II, 151). He was not aware that the name referred to a *Hehénewa* Ancient. There are several possibilities to be considered in accounting

[1] Also *ówinu* (weeping affair).

[2] There are also abbreviated one-day ceremonies for women, children, and men of small extended joint families. The three-day ceremony is most appropriate for a headman.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE

its inevitable crescendo of excitement and disorder, dances and songs are interchanged.

In the course of the ceremonies, the relationship between the nonhuman world of the masked representations and the people, represented by the women, becomes increasingly more intimate, culminating, as we have already noted, in the total intimacy of coitus. The spirit of Cubeo ceremonialism is generally Dionysian. In religious excitement the Cubeo achieve a desired and temporary dissolution of the segmentation and conceptual separateneses in normal social and religious life.

Koch-Grünberg (1906a), who observed part of an *óyne* in 1903 among the *Hehénewa*, saw in the masked dances two themes, an appeasement of evil spirits and fertility rites. My own information does not agree entirely with this interpretation. It is a fact that several of the masked dancers represent malevolent beings; the jaguar, that is the embodiment of the dreaded sorcerer, the butterfly, that symbolizes the act of sorcery, and the *abúhuwa* or forest monsters, that devour human victims. In addition the masked dancers represent the dung beetle and the vulture, eaters of offal and carrion. These creatures represent to the Cubeo the facts of death. Except for the *abúhuwa*, who are not taken too seriously, the most common agency of death is to the Cubeo a particular human enemy. Evil sorcery can be warded off by particular magical means. The masked dances, however, are not magical means for warding off danger. They are, rather, dramatic rituals whose purpose is to generate a frame of mind in which the fact of death is confronted and made to appear natural and tolerable. By coming to the house as guests, to dance, to sing, to drink chicha, and to "copulate" with women, the masked creatures are made to appear, finally, as a friendly part of the Cubeo world. The malevolent creatures are not singled out, but appear in the context of the whole ensemble of masked dancers.

As for the fertility theme, this has been a cherished cliché of earlier anthropology that promptly labeled any ritualization of sex as "fertility rites." The situation is more complex. The dancers do indeed represent male potency, but the simulated coitus emphasizes rather the carnal aspect of sex, for it is the older women, possessing the privilege of obscenity, whom the masked dancers "attack sexually."

THE MASKS

The dance masks of the Cubeo are made of a white bark cloth called *táwũ* (tree bark), which is also the name by which the masks are generically known.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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larly, they have adapted harvest and demon cult ceremonies to ancestral cult rites. Evidences of religious syncretism are important in interpreting a complex ceremony. Thus, the fact that the mourning rites commonly begin during the pupunha season and the fact that at one point in the ceremonies the men pelt the roof of the house with pupunha fruit to "frighten the women" must be evaluated in the light of the possibility that we are dealing with a portion of a foreign ceremony, incorporated in the structure of the *óyne*. Cubeo ancestral or initiative rites also include "harvest festival" elements. But in these, as in the *óyne*, the harvest theme is a minor one.

MASK REPRESENTATIONS

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Dr. Koch-Grünberg, in his travels through the Vaupés region, collected some 50 different mask representations. My own observations along the Cuduiarí covered 30. Altogether, there is now a combined list of 62.[1] Since the masks are intended to portray *all* the living creatures of the Cubeo world the number of masks is potentially vast. No one ceremony uses them all. There are, however, key characters that are most commonly represented. These are Jaguar, Dung beetle, Carrion vulture, Butterfly, Aracú fishes, Eagle, Sloth, Parrot, Dragonfly, Minnows (who are not masked but are an important element in the ceremonial dramatization), *Pyénkü* (a small black fish), Frogs, and a variety of cannibalistic ogres or forest demons, the *Abúhuwa*. Informants would not say which of the masked representations was most important, presumably because invidiousness is, to the Cubeo, in poor taste. Judging, however, by their prominence, I would say that Jaguar, Butterfly, *Abúhuwa*, Dung beetles, Carrion vulture, and Aracú fishes were most important, more or less in that order. Except for the aracú, the esteemed fish of the region, these creatures all have an association with death. The jaguar is, of course, the dreaded sorcerer. The sorcerer is called *yaví* (jaguar) and the Cubeo regard any jaguar as likely to be either a sorcerer or a sorcerer's dog. The morpho butterfly with its beautiful blue wings is a creature of sorcerers and of evil. The information Koch-Grünberg received was that the morpho butterfly (*tatárako*) lives at Yurupari *cachoeira* on the Vaupés, where he brews malaria in a calabash and strews it over the land (1909, II, 181). I did not hear this account, but I was told that when a sorcerer is cooking a brew that will kill a victim at a distance the morpho butterfly appears and encircles the pot. Finally, it falls in and is consumed and at that moment the victim dies.

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[1] See the end of this chapter.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Makálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamówa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kawá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirárũ yavirákũ [repeated]
yavirárũ maníka
yavirárũ ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákũ* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yaví*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kavíré kavíré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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a dwarf pair, several pairs of giants, a great owl demon, and two kinds of *abúhuwa*. I saw three *Abúhuwa*. The *Abúhuwa* are made to appear grotesque. Their masks are of coarse brown bark cloth and, unlike any other dancer, they sometimes wear bark-cloth trousers. One Indian said to me rather maliciously, "They are like the white man." One of the *Abúhuwa* not wearing trousers had large flapping breasts of bark cloth and was a "wife." The headpiece has a calabash to form a face painted with human features. The masks are intended to be as grotesque as possible. Since the *Abúhuwa* act clownishly, they induce in the spectators only mock alarm. The *Abúhuwa* have no song of their own and no fixed dance. They are free to improvise. There are two kinds of improvisation: wild when young men impersonate them, and listless and lolling when acted by old men. While the Jaguars act to build up a sense of violence, the *Abúhuwa* work to create disorder. Thus, no masked dancers will enter the women's quarter through the rear or women's door except the *Abúhuwa*. They burst in through the rear door, hopping in short strides as though they were on pogo sticks. They interfere with dances and perform a number of amusing skits.

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The Dung beetles (*Keratamáwa*) are a pair. The masks have a white facepiece with a pair of eyes, or sometimes with no features at all. The body design includes the wide bars of the insect's body flanked by lozenge designs on each side. The headpiece is surmounted by a short hourglass-shaped tube of splints and bark cloth. They dance holding hands. Each holds a short stick. In a dance Koch-Grünberg saw, they pushed along another stick on the ground in imitation, he noted, of their work as cleaners. I saw them holding their short sticks before them like wands. Their dance is a slow movement, forward and back. The songs recorded by me and by Koch-Grünberg are not the same.

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The Carrion vulture (*Kavá*) wears a mask with human features, although Koch-Grünberg saw one that he described as "naturalistic." The main design consists of very large lozenges (to depict the large feathers of the bird) flanked by horizontal bars suggesting outspread wings. The Carrion vulture carries a short stick held against the back of his neck, its ends extending over his shoulders, where his upraised hands hold it in place. The dancers bow gracefully from the waist to suggest the bird's soaring flight.

The Aracú (*Borikakü*) are usually represented in their several varieties. The headpiece is built up to a high peak made of splints covered with bark cloth in an hourglass design. The Aracú dance slowly, in pairs, and hold hands. Each carries a ten-foot pole bear-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765
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ing, like a pennant, bark-fringe streamers. The *Borikakü* usually dances with *Mávayo*, its compatriot, the red-mouthed aracú. In a joint dance they carry a rope ladder (*towándo*) made of three parallel strands of rope into which wooden rungs are set. Attaching the ladder to a roof beam, they climb and descend.

THE MINNOWS

Although the Minnows (*Emíwa*) wear no masks they are definitely part of the dance ensemble; they have a dance step, a song, and a dramatic role. The Minnows are the youngsters and form a school of fish that presumably stands for the youngsters' play pack.[6] They are a boisterous element, moving in and out among the masked dancers. Lacking masks and, accordingly, formal ceremonial status they play a counterpoint of sheer spontaneity to the more solemn dances of the masks. While the role clearly belongs to youngsters, boys are not limited to it. Prepubescent boys do, indeed, wear masks. Those I saw were Butterflies and I was told that a youngster may dance any role but *Yaví*, the Jaguar. The Minnows play on curious shrill whistles. The whistles resemble a short three-tube Panpipe and are mounted at the end of a stick about a yard in length that is hung with three streamers of bark cloth. The dancers wear ankle rattles and dance in a spiral formation, taking two accented steps forward and then two oblique steps back. They hold their whistle sticks pointing up. They have no particular formation, dancing sometimes abreast, sometimes in line, and, alternately, in disorder. The Minnows do all their dancing among the women, who dote on them and ply them with chicha.

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XUDIÍKO AND *XUDIÍKÜ*

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The "grandmother" and her consort are, for the Cubeo, the truly solemn and sacred element of the *óyne*. Represented by giant 15-foot-long trumpets of wound bark that are bound as twins to a single frame, they are taboo to all the women, as are all ancestral horns. The trumpets are capable only of deep, mournful notes and represent ancestral mourning. It is the grandmother, however, who has come to mourn and not the grandparents. The reason for this is that it is a woman's role to be an official weeper. Men may and do

[462]

[6] It will be recalled that in the story of *Kúwai* and the anaconda, the penis of the anaconda is transformed into four minnows that are given to the adulterous wife to eat.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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weep at an *óyne* but only as partners of women, whom they join in the formal weeping embrace. The ancestral role of *Xudjiko* and her consort is different from that of the ancestor trumpets used in the initiation ceremonies. Some of the latter are regarded by the Cubeo as sib or as phratry ancestors and are incorporated in the genealogies. *Xudjiko*, on the other hand, is a tribal ancestress and, so far as I could determine, is not a part of any genealogy. *Xudjiko* and *Xudjikũ* are constructed for the occasion and are secreted along the river, to arrive at the proper time by canoe. A special place over the grave, in the forward side of the house at the left, is prepared for the twin trumpets, and they are almost constantly played by two men seated side by side on low stools.

THE SIB UNITS

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The last group of dramatic characters are the sib units. An *óyne* is normally a phratric affair, each sib attending as a unit to express condolences, to mourn, and to vow vengeance against the enemy. Since the suspicion of sorcery may fall upon any man, even within the nuclear family, the sibmen are in effect required to declare their innocence by the strength of professed grief and anger. Sibmen also appear as masked dancers, but in that guise they have no sib identity. As sibmen they play a role of great solemnity, behaving with meticulous decorum, grim-faced and unsmiling, carrying weapons as signs of male wrath and power. They maintain this demeanor undeviatingly since they perform their necessary ritual observances early, before the effects of chicha, narcotics, and the excitement of the dance have eroded the orderliness with which the *óyne* began.

ORGANIZATION OF THE *ÓYNE*

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As a complex ceremony, interweaving many ritual elements and magical and religious themes, the *óyne* follows its intricate course with apparent spontaneity. One does not observe overt central direction; the dancers seem to know just what to do and when to do it. The hosts act as general guides only, not by instructing the guest dancers but by guiding the major phases of the ceremony. In this way they manage to achieve the desired atmosphere of emotional spontaneity. For all its complexity, the *óyne* is well adapted to the segmentary social structure of the Cubeo. It is a phratric ceremony in which each sib acts as a unit in ritual acts and in the dances dur- [182] [614] [615]

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 182 614 [615] ing the early stages. In the later stages, after the drink, the narcotics, and the general excitement have taken effect, the sib units disintegrate, so to speak, and the entire gathering becomes one generalized melee of phratry mates. The Cubeo do not call attention to the symbolic significance of the merger of sib identities; but that a mixing of the sibs is a desired result seems evident enough to an observer. For as long as the sibs maintain their separateness the mood of the *óyne* is solemn and decorous. The point of mixing is also the point of desired disorder. As a unit each guest sib is responsible for preparing a number of masks (as well as other ceremonial objects) and for representing them in song and dance. To my knowledge a sib has no fixed prerogative to a particular mask or group of masks. It is free to make any it chooses. Presumably there are preferences, although when the host issues the invitations to the *óyne*, he or his messenger negotiates the masks that each sib is to prepare. If the purpose of the negotiation is to ensure that all the mask beings will be represented, that purpose is not always fulfilled. However, if a mask is not present, the spirit being it represents can still be enacted by the appropriate song and dance, for while the Cubeo do believe that a mask has a particular character they are not dogmatic about it. Masks and spirit beings are interchangeable.

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765 535 152 The masked dances follow neither a precisely fixed sequence nor a precisely patterned ensemble, although they do follow a general order that is familiar to all. Since the principal sequence is one of mounting emotional intensity, it follows a natural course as the ceremony proceeds. The dance groups respond to one another. An ensemble is formed more or less spontaneously as one group of dancers stimulates others to join it. In the same way, the emotional level set by one group of dancers influences all others who follow.

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE ÓYNE

765 539 The Cubeo tradition of the *óyne* is as follows. There was a time when people did not die and there were then very many people. One morning a boy followed his sister into her manioc garden and copulated with her. In the afternoon the girl returned home and told what her brother had done. The people beat the boy and drove him out. He wandered about in the forest for three months feeling ashamed. He could find nothing to eat and so he returned home very thin. He entered the maloca and, speaking to no one, lay down in his hammock and died. His own people did not mourn him but said,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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The sexual play between men and women begins when the first visiting women arrive and try to pass through the rear entrance of the maloca. The rear door has been removed and the opening barred by poles set in an × over which the women must climb. The Dung beetles, armed with wooden staffs, "guard" the entrance by thrusting at the women as they climb in. The women are burdened with great baskets containing household utensils. Many carry a nursing baby in a sling across the hip, with a walking child clutching the skirt. A woman can make no dignified entrance. Prodded by the Dung beetles she tumbles into the house, clutching her infant, her skirts flying, her utensils scattered. She laughs with excitement, recognizing her fall as a burlesque of the rough play that initiates sexual courtship. At this moment the men are being solemnly and decorously received at the front door. However, after having been tumbled into the house the women reassemble outside, the bars are removed, and they, too, are received in the conventional manner by the host women. They then settle themselves along the left wall of the women's section.

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The second molestation of the women comes at nightfall, when little boys rush in among them with a bark *dùpu* (a lizard which supposedly makes the women squeamish) suspended along a sturdy rope. They invite the little girls to join them in a tug of war. The little girls act shy so the boys first play of tug of war among themselves, arranging to fall among the girls. Emboldened, the girls seize the *dùpu* and join the tug of war. Another group of boys also bearing a *dùpu* enters and engages more girls in a tug of war. The purpose of the *dùpu* is to generate excitement among the women. The boys fall upon the little girls, who shriek with laughter and mock alarm while their mothers dodge the thrashing bodies artfully.

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The youngsters are followed by an older group of Minnows, not masked, who swarm in noisily, stomping and whistling, dancing close among the women and jostling them. Finally, all the masked dancers, the adult males, enter. The air clouds with dust, and the women's section resounds to the shrieks of laughter, to song, and to the thump of dancing feet and the dry clatter of rattles. Young boys who are sent to sprinkle the floor with moist chicha mash, to settle the dust, pelt one another, and "accidentally" the women, with balls of mash. Throwing chicha mash is, for the Cubeo, a common form of flirtation. Ordinarily the woman throws at a lover. Children do not ordinarily play this game. Thus, the incongruity of being hit with mash thrown by little boys amuses the women enormously. It is the guest women who are flirtatiously singled out at this time. The host

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5: Goldman E\5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The host
765 831 786 women stand apart on their side of the house and serve chicha to the Minnows.

The males leave and the excitement of the women subsides. Through the night, however, the men come to dance among the
765 831 786 women. The fence that divides the house into a male and female half is also an emotional dividing line. Dances form on the male
• 535 side, where they are solemn and subdued. When they pass to the women's side, the dancers are excited. When they go back they revert to calm. It is tempting to interpret the movement of the masked dancers – who look phallic – through the overlapping slit in the wall as symbolizing coitus, particularly since with almost each passage the level of excitement is heightened.

The excitement of the Minnows is allowed to subside in a calm interval. *Máwayo* (the red-mouthed aracú), and *U* (sloth) do a slow dance, holding long poles with a crook at one end which they suspend from a roof beam and upon which they swing. The Sloth always falls. He lies on the ground kicking a leg and making feeble gestures of arising, only to fall again. But *Máwayo* is slow and graceful and swings gently on his pole. The Sloth arises, and the dancers cross poles and gracefully dance out.

[532] They are all followed by the Minnows. Each Minnow now carries a long pole that is joined to all the others by a string from which dangles a carved wooden bird. They do a circle dance with the bird in the center. As they circle, stamping strongly to accent the beat on the right foot, they jostle the women, moving in upon them to enclose them in the circle. The Jaguars now rush in, wilder than ever,
[857] leaping about among the women and falling upon them. They are followed by the boys with the *dúpu* on its string. The boys ensnare the young girls in the *dúpu* string. Now two masked dancers come in with long flaming broomsticks. They dash about among the women, swinging the flaming fibers among them. The women scatter in noisy panic, kicking over baskets and dishes. The attack by flame excites the Jaguars as well, and they whirl around among the women in sheer frenzy. As they flee this new menace, the women say, "The
[534] jaguars are angry. They will soon attack people." The Jaguars, however, are no menace to the men. One climbs on top of the partition and blows noisily into his jug horn, and another climbs a roof beam overlooking the women, both in a simulated attack upon them.

The Jaguars withdraw, and the next entrance is again a quiet one. Two Spiders, slowly and gracefully holding a long string from the middle of which hangs a feather, dance toward one another, winding up the string until they are face to face at the feather and

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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then unwinding it. They repeat this over and over, joining and parting. Watching this, the women regain their composure.

When the Spiders leave, the wives of the mourning sib are led into the men's side. Here, in pitch blackness, they sit in a circle around the ceremonial regalia of the deceased and weep. The men are no longer in masks; the masks are on poles and shield the women from the *Xudjíko* horns, whose low, mournful notes, that sound like a bull-roarer, accompany the weeping.

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This most solemn interlude is followed by an entrance of all the men. Previously the masks had danced only with their own kind. After midnight all the masks form one line. Each man carries a lighted taper. They circle the house several times, singing the same song. They re-enter by the front door and pass immediately through the slit to the women's side, still bearing their flaming torches. A number of the dancers suddenly move forward, and seizing the chief female mourner by the hair, arms, and legs, drag her violently across the floor from side to side. They do the same to other female mourners but with less violence. The themes of sexuality and of hostility are intertwined in the *óyne* the way they are in daily life. Sex is always associated with the out-group. The parallel seems very clear between the ritual of "marriage by capture" and the ritualization of sex and aggressiveness in the *óyne*.

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From this moment the dancers are constantly among the women. Throughout the entire second day, dancers move in and out – one group leaving as another enters. Masked dancers fall upon the women, roll over them on the ground, or jostle them. The men say, "We are looking for *Míavi* [Eagle]." The jostling, which seemingly excites the women, is, however, largely formalized. No dancer touches a woman with his hands, and he makes the jostling appear to be accidental. The young boys, however, who are sexually aroused by this play, take advantage of the confusion and of the women's excitement to fall among them and to clutch at their breasts and thighs.

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The third day begins with a series of comic enactments for the benefit of the women. In one, the *Abúhuwa* carry a basket of bark-cloth balls called *wakúiu*, which they throw to one another, among the women, and then dive after. This violent buffoonery is counterpointed by a solemn dance of men, not in masks, who hold a long pole before them and move down the corridor in a slow tread singing the mournful refrain *kamiré, kamiré*. These dancers leave, and another *Abúhukũ* comes forward. He carries a bark-cloth coconut (*dudúki*). He pantomimes futile efforts to break it, studying it closely and tapping it against his head. He throws it on the ground among

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 536 the women and dives clumsily after it, rolling among the women and over them. He recovers it and tries to crack it in his mouth, but of course he is wearing a mask, and finally he examines it with a marvelously executed air of puzzlement and dejection. The women have been so dazed by now that the comic virtuosity of this "clown" does [152] not draw the expected laughs. The *Abühukü* leaves and there is a respite. The women stir about and look after their children, and it seems as though the emotional gradient, having been broken in its upward ascent, has dropped to the most ordinary level.

765 831 786 535 But this quiet interlude is short. At midmorning all the masked dancers storm noisily among the women in a dance called the *hwananiwa* (wild peccary). They throw themselves upon the women, forcing them to the ground and to the copulatory position. Three or four men cover a woman. The dancers rise again to dance in sheer frenzy, careening about the room, shrieking and falling again upon another woman. But even though their excitement seems more feverish than ever, the men still do not lay a hand upon a [887] woman. They choose for their attentions only the older women. The older women among the Cubeo are licentious, and they behave at this time as though they have become sexually aroused. They laugh and shriek and reach for a man's thighs. The daughters observe this spectacle of their mother's sexual excitement with evident dismay and great interest. The mothers shrilly command their daughters to run away and so escape sexual molestation. At the command to run they [152] begin to leave, but they come back to watch. Again, the very young boys who share this masculine license are carried away by sexual excitation and lustfully attack the women, the wives of their phratry mates. The women "fight them off" with the standard courting resistance and succeed in inflaming them all the more. Not all the masked dancers join this revelry in the same spirit. Some men, the older ones in particular, are restrained, treating the dance symbolically, and some are simply shy and only brush lightly against the 765 182 152 831 786 535 women. The point of view is that of symbolic frenzy rather than of sheer unrestraint. The mastery of this mood is surely a difficult one, because the women, who are a laity, are under no compulsion to discipline their feelings. This is presumably the Cubeo ceremonial conception – pitting masculine symbolically controlled behavior against the spontaneous emotionality of the women. This interplay between emotional form and substance, so to speak, adds spontaneity and emotional spice to the ceremony but always within the framework of form. That the youngsters should succumb to simple lust in this licentious dance is, to be sure, a spontaneous consequence of the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

ceremony. But their lust and that of the women is what really provides the desired emotional level for this stage of the ceremony.

The *hwananiwa* is really a precopulatory performance. It is followed by another comic interlude in which the *Abúhuwa* return with their repertoire of cracking a nut, killing an alligator (cayman), and killing a jaguar. The alligator performance is a great success. The animal, which is a symbol of masculine sexual lust (in the legends it copulates with the wife of *Kúwai* and continues to do so even while she is devouring its abdomen), is made of coarse brown bark cloth. This bark cloth itself has an obscene significance for the Cubeo and is associated with violence and lack of control. The brown bark cloth goes with the Jaguar and the *Abúhuwa* and with all the objects used by the *Abúhuwa*. It represents the power of beasts. In the phallic dance the huge penises are also made of brown bark cloth.

The *Abúhuwa* and their helpers come in from the men's side, carrying this bark-cloth alligator, and say, "We have killed our alligator." They proceed to cook it in a hilarious demonstration of ineptitude. The women, who are now at a high pitch of excitement, shriek with glee at the antics and the men are stimulated by their appreciation. They light a fire under the pot with brown bark cloth, sending a choking wave of acrid smoke into the house. They bustle about the pot in a crowd, cutting up bits of the "meat" and throwing it into the pot. One performer almost falls into the pot in his zeal. Another tries to set fire to the "meat" in the pot. They stir and smell and taste, mimicking the woman as cook. Then they pull out small bits, and putting a piece daintily on a leaf, pass it to the women. The women promptly throw the pieces at the *Abúhuwa* – the courtship gesture of the woman throwing food at the man.

The interlude of cooking the alligator and feeding it to the women strikes a new note in the sexual sequence. This is a domestic scene. Men feed only the wives of the house. By throwing the "meat" at the men the women are responding to sexual excitement in the uncontrolled sense. By killing their alligator, cooking it, and acting inept the men are symbolically subduing uncontrolled sexuality. The men are actually acting out a feminine role, for it is women who cook meat in a pot. This reversal of sex role is a humorous incident and it also strikes a domestic note.

The men reinforce this domestic mood in a series of portrayals representing hunting, killing, and eating. Each sequence becomes less humorous. The men bring in a brown bark-cloth representation of a jaguar slung on a pole. They sing the jaguar song. They cook the jaguar and eat it, passing out the "meat" to the women, who,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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535 recognizing the symbolic distinction between an alligator and a
536 jaguar, do not throw it back at the men. Then the Jaguars kill a deer, who is represented by a masked dancer. The Jaguars dance wildly about their "victim," blowing loudly into their jugs. The victim writhes and falls agonizingly to the ground, kicking up a leg, moving an arm, and then lying inert. Other dancers, his "comrades," come to look at him. They lift his arm and it falls back. They lift his leg and it falls back. They sniff his body and murmur *ttt tttt*. Now the Carrion vultures come, with their short staffs held against the back of the neck. They dance about the victim singing the jaguar song. They buzz about the victim and bend down and kiss him. The Jaguars also kill *Pampámibo* (a frog), and the procedure is repeated.

This dramatization of the modes of violent death – the killing of the alligator, the lustful adulterer, the killing of the jaguar, the dread killer himself, and the killing of the weaker and defenseless game animals – restores the mood to one of sobriety. The dance of the Carrion vultures has a note of pathos that is not lost on the women.

765 When these sequences are done there is an intermission. The boys
831 busy themselves with the fabrication of great bark-cloth penises.
[535] The phallic dance that is to follow is known as the "dance of the
[857] potent penises" and is under the jurisdiction of the young men. As they complete the penises, the boys begin a sexual play with them, thrusting at one another in a hilarious burlesque of coitus. It is all play, in a spirit of gaiety and with much noise.

765 During this interval of male sexual play, that takes place in the men's part of the house, the women on their side are mourning in the conventional fashion, arms about one another's neck, faces together, crouching in a mournful circle.

765 On this, the third day, the women's section is not entered again by
535 the men until late in the afternoon. Then the entire corps of masked
831 dancers dances in, each man carrying a sprig of leaves with which
786 he beats the women, centering attention on the elderly. Some strike with such force as to make the women scream with pain. Others brush a woman's shoulder lightly. They then dance into the men's section and whip the hosts, but perfunctorily, since the real interest is in the women, from whom they should draw blood. The Jaguars enter briefly among the women. They leave and all the masked dancers – the *nowánparatowü* (potent penises) – come in. Each holds a bark-cloth phallus before him with both hands. The dancers thrust at the older women, some doing so very mildly, and others, the younger men, forcing the phalluses between a woman's legs. The women again shriek at their daughters to escape. As before, the girls

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

dart about in confusion, running as though to escape, but returning to witness the sexual "attack" on their mothers. The shrieking women lift up the bark-fringe skirts of the men, and recognizing a dancer by the design on his thighs, shout out his name. This seems to be a spontaneous gesture, for the sexual attack as the Cubeo dramatize it is, after all, symbolic and abstract. The dancer, to be sure, is attacking a particular woman, but he does so in an impersonal manner. The woman, however, does not accept sexual interest in an impersonal manner.

The symbolic coitus is decidedly less spirited than the previous onslaughts against the women. There is less body contact and, except for a few of the more aggressive younger men, the entire interlude has the appearance of a dance and not of an orgy.

The phallic dance concludes the first sexual sequence at this ceremony. Outside the house the boys conduct a homosexual play with the bark-cloth phalluses, but this does not seem to be a part of the ceremony proper. One month later the mourning series is completed at a two-hour dance, at the end of which the masks are burned and, as the ultimate act, men take women, the wives of their phratry mates, into the bush and copulate, couples changing partners as often as they like. While there is a one-month interval between the phallic dance and the actual sexual license, the final act of copulation is still part of the sexual sequence, just as the final dances and the burning of the masks are also part of the ceremonial sequence involving masks.

The final sexual event in this ritual sequence is to be understood as somewhat more than sexual consummation. It is also an act of mass adultery, as the Indians are only too well aware. In this act, the adulterous longings of the people are given expression without any real suppression of the stormy feelings of jealousy that adultery provokes among them. The adulterous act adds still another modality of sexual passion.

The entire sexual sequence is very close to Cubeo life, even to the point of including the homosexual play of the young boys, which in Cubeo life is also only a byplay in the formal sexual life of the community. The very young girls receive only playful teasing attention by their male age mates. The younger married women – the sexually most desirable – are almost entirely ignored during the play phases of the sexual sequence. But in the final act it is they who are taken and not the older women. It is for this reason, too, that I regard the final sexual event as a provocative act of adultery, for the adultery of

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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an older woman is not regarded quite as seriously as is the adultery of a young wife.

THE MEN'S SIDE

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In the interaction between men and women we have seen the ritualization of sexual passion as a principal theme. In the events that are localized on the men's side of the house we see as a principal theme the ritualization of another range of emotion, the masculine emotions of grief and anger as well as a symbolic display of masculine sentiments of sib and phratric unity.

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The *óyne* begins as an intrasib affair, and its first ritual acts are those of arrival: of the masked dancers, the beings, and the "grandmother," *Xudjíko* and her consort.

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On the evening before the guests come, the men of the sib prepare the masks. The masks are mounted on poles before the house and are decorated with macaw and other feathers. Among the *Hehénewa* the men had hung the ears of the masks with the metal cylinders of cigarette lighters bought in trade for the occasion. The cylinders reminded them of *kenddox*, the quartz cylinder pendants. Decoration of the masks is timed to finish at sunset, not earlier, not later. On this night only the major masks are represented, the rest are brought by guests. The masks are arranged in pairs of the same kind, except for Aracú and Sloth, who go together. The Indians assured me that the pairing is not sexual; both are male, they said.

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As darkness falls the men put on their masks and form up in pairs in a line, the Butterflies in the lead, followed by the Dung beetles, the Jaguars, and the Aracú-Sloth pair. They dance around the plaza in a circle, each singing its appropriate song but all using the same dance step—a simple one-step accenting the right foot, that bears ankle rattles. When they complete one circle, the Butterflies break away and, now in their proper dance step, approach the doorway of the house, strike the side wall violently with their rattles to announce their presence, and move back to continue dancing and singing as a pair on the plaza. Each pair, in turn, does the same, and there follows an interval in which the paired dancers move about the plaza unmindful of the others.

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The first blow against the doorway by the Butterflies is a signal for the women behind their partition to begin wailing, and to continue to wail as long as they hear the dancers singing on the outside. This is an interval of some 15 minutes. Again the Butterflies strike the doorway violently. This time they run swiftly through the door-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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way, and within the darkness of the house they remove their masks [535]
and wait for the others to enter in the same manner. Assembled in the
house, the men listen for the sound from the canoe landing that will [574]
announce the arrival of *Xudjikò* and her consort. Bearing their
masks over their arms, they file out silently and form a double line
along the path from the canoe landing to the plaza.

Four men bring the great trumpets by canoe. Watched by the 765
others, they carefully lift out the trumpets noiselessly. When the 534
trumpets are on land the watchers whisper, "Here comes our grand- 574
mother." Two bearers mount the forward ends of the trumpets on
their shoulders and two in the rear are the players. The trumpets
sound their first low, mournful notes, and the watchers put on their
masks, form a file, and escort the "grandmother" into the house. A
trumpeter accompanies with a rattle.

The "grandmother" is first set in the very center of the dance floor 765
of the male section, and as the trumpets are played by two men, 533
the masks circle "her," their songs blending with "her" lamentation. 534
Again the women behind their barrier respond with their own
higher-pitched and human wailing. After a brief interval the "grand-
mother" is moved to her permanent place at the left, where a frame-
work to receive the trumpets has been installed. The rest of the night 765
is devoted to the dancing of the masks and the lamentation of the 535
"grandmother." The men take turns in sounding the trumpets. Occa-
sionally they rest and drink chicha and smoke. They dance on the
plaza, in the men's section and in the women's section. Whenever they [202]
enter the house they strike the doorway loudly and spur the women
to renewed wailing. Shortly after midnight the men drape the door- [789]
way with brown bark cloth as a barrier against evil sorcery. At dawn
they remove the drape and hang it over the inner partition. It will
be used for making the *dúpu*, the phalluses, the alligator, and other
paraphernalia.

As day breaks they prepare for a third admission, that of sibmates 765
who will pay their respects to the dead. The oblong box of plaited 614
palm fibers in which a man keeps his ceremonial possessions is
brought out and set in the center of the dance floor. These are the
ceremonial belongings of the deceased and at this time they repre-
sent him. Among the *Hehénewa*, where the deceased had been the
father of the headman, the box, as well as a tray containing the full
Cubeo ceremonial regalia – feathers (*mápena*), quartz cylinder pend-
ant, jaguar-tooth and armadillo-vertebrae girdles – were laid out.

The sons and grandsons form a circle around these representations
of the dead. Each carries in his left hand either a shotgun or a heavy 765

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 staff as a weapon. They pose with head bowed, both hands resting
765 on the weapon. The chief mourner holds a rattle hung with a feather
53 and eagle down in his right hand. He begins the formal oration, an angry declaration denouncing the unknown sorcerers who have killed his father. As he speaks, in a hoarse, changing voice, he swings the rattle in a vertical arc, pivoting on his left foot, facing one mourner and then the next. His gestures are vigorous and his pivot is crisply executed. He swings the rattle upward almost into the face of the mourner whom he is addressing. He has hardly completed the circle when each of the mourners, swinging his right arm in an arc, turns to a companion and recites a similar angry declaration. The companion to whom he turns also pivots to face him, awaiting his return to reply. This part of the ritual is executed as a ballet. The declaimer is poised with his right foot forward, waiting for his partner to pivot and face him, and not until the partner has executed his pivot does he begin his declaration. The headman, having initiated these hoarse and angry harangues, turns his attention to the ceremonial remains of the deceased. His head bowed, he gently shakes the rattle over them and utters a sad lament that he has lost a father. After an interval of angry shouting the mourners re-form the close circle, bow their heads, and weep. They pause to blow their noses, wiping their hands on the fringes of the masks that have been hung nearby.

765 Other members of the sib are not part of this close mourning circle.
614 They put on their masks and dance, circling the mourners. The
535 *Xudjiko* trumpets are silent because they are sounded only by the
[533] men of the household of the deceased, who are now part of the circle of mourners. The mourning of the men signals the women to begin again their wailing, their piercing lamentations rising clearly above every other angry and mournful sound.

765 This interval of mourning lasts some 15 minutes. The ceremonial property of the deceased is then removed and the men rest, drinking
[535] chicha and smoking. Dancing resumes after half an hour. At dawn
[789] the Jaguars cut off the brown bark-cloth trimmings from their jug trumpets and pass them among the men to chew. This will guard them, they say, against sorcery from their phratry mates, who will arrive as mourners late in the afternoon.

765 Later in the morning the men put up crossbars to "guard" the
276 women's entrance. After this *mihí* is prepared. A sibman staggers in with a bundle of the narcotic vine. *Mihí*, as always, is carried in the ritual manner, one of its features being a representation of great weight. The bearer bends low, raising his knees high, and circles the

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

765 After the formal greetings, the guests return to their canoes to
574 complete the decorations on the masks they have brought and to ap-
[532] ply personal body decorations.
[302] The sibs of the phratry arrive in late afternoon. These later ar-
rivals are greeted by the hosts wearing dance masks. When they
765 sight their guests they sally out of the house dancing and singing in
574 a winding line around the front plaza. The guests respond by don-
585 ning their own masks and dance up the path, each pair of masked
614 dancers singing its own song. They mingle with the hosts. All com-
plete a circle about the dance plaza, the hosts dance into the house,
and the guests continue dancing outside.

765 Two Butterflies from among the guests approach the open door-
574 way. Each in turn strikes the side wall violently with his rattles. From
535 within Sloth and *Mávayo* thrust their long poles out at them and
"beat them off." The Butterflies rejoin the others. Suddenly all the
dancers rush the doorway and skirmish with the spirits within. Those
with staffs thrust them at the attackers or use them to ward off a
thrust. Those with rattles shake them violently. The "attack" is
noisy and spirited. Beaten off again, the attackers re-form their dance
line and dance to the rear of the house, seeking an entry through that
quarter. But here the doorway is blocked with crossbars and guarded
by Dung beetles, who thrust their long lances at the "attackers."
Again the attacking dancers retire and resume their dance at the
front of the house. After a while they take off their masks, hanging
the garments on poles that have been set for this purpose along the
front walls. Now, as humans, each strikes the side wall violently with
his staff and enters the house. This entry is ritualized. The men flit in
swiftly and silently on tiptoe, whispering *t t t i i i*, and circle the
ceremonial remains of the deceased.

The male hosts have formed themselves into an outer semicircle
facing the guest dancers. They lean on their staffs and look on grimly
[537] as the dancers complete the circle; then they whistle. At this the
dancers come to an abrupt halt in a semicircle facing the hosts and
launch into the orations already described. The speeches are short,
and the men change partners often, each moving out of position when
necessary, or leaning past a companion at his side. After a few minutes
the guests resume the flitting dance. They circle clockwise, whispering
iii iii iii, and having completed one circle, dance counterclock-
[622] wise and whistle. Alternating between clockwise and counter-
clockwise and whispering and whistling, they complete several circles
led by their headman, who carries a rattle in his right hand. Dur-
ing this dance only the host headman remains standing and facing
the dancers; the others retire to the benches set behind the dance

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEU

masks and drink chicha. The guests finally stand in a circle around the ceremonial remains of the deceased. With heads bowed and leaning on their guns or staffs before them they chant a lamentation, their leader shaking his rattle slowly. They weep, the *Xudjiko* trumpets pick up the lament, and the women join in. They repeat this performance with little variation three times. After the third, they break ranks and face their hosts again in the postures of the angry harangue. Finally each guest breaks away and rushes toward the open doorway brandishing his weapon outside and shouting defiance at the sorcerer or other enemies of the phratry.

Concluding this phase of mourning, the guests leave the house so as to make still another entrance, this time to be received as men with the formal salutations at the doorway.

Guests from others sibs arrive by maloca groupings, each group of eight or ten men acting out the same ritual. Each group appears in three roles: as spirit beings who are repulsed, as generalized mourners who act out grief and anger, and finally as kinsmen, each of whom is received individually and with a kinship greeting as he makes his final entrance to the house. When they are greeted as kinsmen, the ceremonial remains of the deceased have been removed; they are welcomed at this point with a calabash of chicha and with *mihi*.

There are some minor variations in this pattern of greeting. At the *Hehénewa öyne* one group "attacked" with a barrage of pupunha thrown against the roof and the front walls. This "attack" had, however, another side to it. In part it was an attack and some of the fruit was thrown violently through the door, where the defenders threw it back at the masked attackers. But punpunha is also regarded at this time as an offering for the women of the house – just as it is during the ancestral whipping ceremony, when the house is showered with fruit by the ancestral spirits. The sound of pupunha fruit striking the roof frightens the women.

This dualism of assault and of offering is carried out in somewhat different form in the course of the ritual receptions to the house. The first instance is when the guests arrive as masked dancers or as spirit beings. They are received first in a friendly way, joining in a dance with their hosts. Then the two groups separate and engage in ritual attack and defense. In the second entrance, as generalized human beings, there are a number of alternations between aggression and friendliness and between anger and grief. Even the circle dance around the ceremonial remains of the deceased has a gentle clockwise motion symbolized by the whispered *t t t t* followed by a more

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
Cubeo

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574 violent counterclockwise motion for which the symbol is the loud
[535] whistle.

On the women's side a parallel form of greeting, but with a minimum of ritual, is going on at the same time. The greetings among the women are, in many respects, a counterpoint to the greetings among the men. I have already mentioned how the women are made to tumble into the house so that their entrance is as ludicrous as the entrance of the men is somber. However, having picked herself up and having straightened out her belongings, each woman is greeted
[561] in a file by the host women. Like the men, the women are grouped by
765 maloca and in order of their husbands' age seniority. Having been
574 greeted with the conventional handshake, the group of hostesses and
152 the group of guests face each other and shout angrily at one another;
[576] these shouts are not accusations or recriminations, but expressions of anger at the enemy who has killed the deceased. Two women who have been facing one another in postures of anger suddenly fall to a squatting position, each with an arm around the other's shoulder, drop their heads, and weep. Women who are nursing babies seem

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Fig. 12. Angry declamation at mourning ceremony.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been restored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaíndũwũ* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, *kenadjũ marié kenadjũ pimári*. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853 [10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

used by the Cubeo for that purpose. It is a ceremonial pennant and it accompanies the dead as a walking stick in the afterlife. Dancing staffs are hollowed cylinders that are stamped on the ground to produce a booming sound and are known as the "good sticks." They have a beneficent effect upon a dance, but whether by magic or by association is not clear. The elaborate coronets of feathers (*máipena*) are apparently sacred. They are handled with great care and kept in a special box. While a woman will touch the *máipena* she will not actually handle them. I did not, however, learn the Cubeo theory of their sacredness. Musical instruments may be regarded as quasi-sacred because they invoke birds and insects but are subject to no taboos (except for the ancestral flutes and trumpets). Flageolets embody the butterfly (*tatárako*). They are played by sounding *ta tara ta tara*, the sound, the Cubeo say, of the butterfly. The large eight-reed Panpipe is *kawi* – the vulture whose hovering form the Cubeo visualize as overhanging the mourning ceremony. Woven ligatures (*ñiknáwa*) worn by men below the knee and daubed with a salmon-pink pigment have several magical effects.[a] Worn at drinking parties they both hasten intoxication and promote long life. They flesh out the calf – a symbol of growth and for the Cubeo aesthetically pleasing.

The association between intoxication and long life as expressed in the ligature seems more than casual. For the Cubeo, intensity of feeling is the goal of ceremonial life. Excitement is one form of the sacred for the Cubeo; perhaps it is the most important expression of sacredness they know. This is borne out by the prominence of excitants in Cubeo religion. Tobacco, coca, *mihí*, chicha, capsicum peppers, all have sacred value for the Cubeo. The potency attributed to an excited state cannot be said to be magical nor can it be attributed to spirits. They have a bird as the spirit of intoxication but this bird does not cause intoxication – it presides over it. The religious significance of intensification of feeling is not an instrumental one in any narrow sense of the word. One can only state this as an impression, since the Cubeo did not put it into words. Intensification of feeling stands for them simply as an assertion of life. That is why, it seems to me, the Cubeo can assert that the salmon-colored ligature is for long life and for drunkenness both.

[a] Women also used to wear these garters in the days before the petticoat became common.

/8: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

796 monotone of the shaman. At intervals the coca calabash passed from hand to hand and each man threw a deer-bone spoon of the sage-green powder into his mouth. He stored it in his cheek and gradually the coca, mixed with saliva, filtered down his throat. Louder and louder, faster and faster became the chanting, echoing between the walls of the vast dark interior. The shaman worked himself into a frenzy, waving his arms out in front of him, his hands moving in wild gesticulations, his voice a rapid series of falsetto monotones; he was expelling all evil spirits from the tribal precincts to the heads of the *caños* and to other lands. The incantations continued for nearly two hours and then in the early hours of the morning there was silence.

796 301 The time had arrived for Bréo to unlock the precious box of plumages and he lowered it to the floor. He unwrapped the barkcloth cover and took off the lid of the beautifully woven palm box. Item by item he distributed the contents to the waiting figures, eagerly clambering to adorn themselves. First the smaller boys were given their simple crowns of red and yellow macaw and toucan tail-feathers, and they dashed away to adjust these on their heads. Underneath lay monkey-fur belts, ancient quartz pendants, puma-tooth necklaces and the most important items of all, magnificent feather head-dresses. These Bréo carefully selected and gave to the elders of the tribe. Crowns of toucan feathers woven on *cumare* frames adorned their heads, brilliant gold and red, ringed with white duck-down. Majestic royal crane plumage, stuck into a banana stem which projected down the back, jutted vertically up from the back of the head. The white feathers were woven together in a *cumare* mesh and stood out like quivering spindles of spun glass, gleaming in the darkness. Behind was a single red macaw tail-feather, a deer bone bound to the banana stem with monkey fur and last of all the wing plumage of an egret.

301 Many of the men wore giant quartz obelisks dangling from their necks. They make them no more, but their ancestors used to spend days rubbing down large chunks of quartz in pebbleworn channels in the river beds. Others had necklaces of wild boars' tusks, pointing concentrically outwards. There were many monkey-fur armlets with glistening beetle wings which [292] jingled as the men moved. Around the waist was another belt of monkey fur with puma teeth attached; below the knees finely-woven *cumare* garters, rubbed yellow with river clay, and above the right ankle dried *watcha* nut [302] rattles. This, with the fierce red facial paint and black body design, made up the splendid dancing regalia of the Tukano. The women had no adornments; [562] south of the Caquetá they stuck rings of white duck-down to their ankles with mud, but here they only painted their faces and bodies.

796 535 Now the dancing proper began. Since it was the manioc festival only the ceremonial *Nahubasa*, signifying the complete cycle of manioc from the time it was planted to the time it became cassava, was danced. Each man carried a long cane stave in his right hand and they joined in a line across the centre of

6: Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

the *maloca*, facing the women's quarters. Dazed from the *chicha* and coca they gazed in front of them and sang a slow dirge, beating their staves on the ground. Slowly they moved off in a clockwise circle inside the four central posts. The tempo increased, but the chant remained the same, the voices grew louder and combined with the hollow thuds from the staves and castanet-like rattles. The whole atmosphere changed, no longer were there rival groups competing with their neighbours, instead everyone took part in the dance. The women joined in, slipping their small bodies under the linked arms of the moving men. The circle increased, the women with their right hand to the small of the back of one man, and their left to the hip of another. Only Wanina, the headman's wife, accompanied by her small children and carrying Bréo's youngest son under her arm, did not join the circle. She moved slowly round the centre, her eyes fixed constantly to the ground, uttering a high-pitched wail as the dancers moved solemnly about her.

The manioc dance continued through the night, but with the approach of dawn the younger members became impatient for a change of rhythm. To them such festivals were an opportunity for amusement, heavy drinking bouts and the possibility of finding a wife. One or two started to play on their panpipes, they were joined by others and soon the whole *maloca* became alive with young couples and trios weaving happily across the floor, in between the posts and along the sides of the house. Their young bodies gliding through the darkness, their feet delicately stamping the time on the ground, they seemed completely lost in the lovely panpipe tunes of the *chiruru*, the Tukano courtship dance. All too soon the thuds of the bamboo staves were heard and the elders again took control.

Throughout the entire festival the dominating figure was the shaman. Existing as he does in complete detachment from the rest, he sat alone, occasionally taking snuff from his snail-shell box. It was he who influenced the festival which, without him, would not take place. Every few hours he summoned the elders about him and as coca was passed round the mysterious chanting began. No one would tell us what was being recited, we could only gather that the tribal ancestors were being consulted and evil spirits exorcized. They did not like us to record this part of the ceremony, for quite understandably they believed we might take away their magic power.

Day and night the people danced, their plumed bodies glistening with sweat, caught in the beams of the sun or the dull glow of the torch-wood. There was continual sound – of panpipes, of cane staves, nutshell rattles and people's voices. Gradually the *chicha* canoes were drained. Gallons of the liquid had been consumed and the men had to rid themselves of their hang-overs. Nonchalantly they poured boiled green-pepper juice down their nostrils from funnels made of leaves. With grunts and snorts they cleared their heads and staggered down to the river to bathe. Inside the *maloca* those that remained were asleep, many of the women had already left for the

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ABOVE AND BELOW: Dancing at the festival to celebrate the manioc harvest.